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HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

By PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, Esq. F.A.S.

VOLUME VI.

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PREFACE.

THE Volume of the History of Scotland, now published, comprehends the period from the assassination of Cardinal Beaton in 1546, to the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, with Henry, Lord Darnley, in 1565, an interval, brief, indeed, in point of time, but prolific in events, and most momentous in their consequences. In proof of this, it is enough to say, that it embraces the history of the Reformation in Scotland: it includes the outbreak, the progress, and the establishment of that wonderful revolution, of which, in a former volume, the Author has marked the faint approaches, but which now, with all its conflicting principles, its mingled feelings,

and stern features, comes prominently before us.

Preceding this great event, occurs the violent and impolitic invasion of the Protector Somerset, and the English war with the united forces of France and Scotland. In more immediate connexion with it, the Author has traced, with greater detail than former writers, the history of the Regency of Mary of Lorraine, the crafty and unscrupulous policy of Elizabeth and Cecil, the plots of the Guises, and the selfishness, venality, and restless intrigues, of the Scottish nobles, as well Protestant as Romish.

Upon these subjects he has had access to a large mass of valuable manuscript materials, of which the greater part has been hitherto unprinted and unexamined. These materials consist chiefly of the original letters of Knox, Cecil, Elizabeth, Mary, Murray, Randolph, Secretary Lethington, Throckmorton, and many other actors in these dark and

troubled times; and the historical student, who is familiar with the earlier and able labours of preceding writers, will discover that an examination of this correspondence has enabled him to throw new light upon this division of the work, and to recover from the waste of conjecture and obscurity, some portions of Scottish history which were lost.

In addition to these letters which are preserved in his Majesty's State Paper Office, the Author has had access to a transcript of the unprinted Privy Council Books of Edward the Sixth.[1] He has also consulted various volumes of transcripts of the unprinted Privy Council Books of Scotland, which have been carefully collated with the originals in the General Register House, at Edinburgh.

[1] These volumes were politely communicated to me by James Chalmers, Esq. They formed part of the collection of the well known and indefatigable Author of "Caledonia"—Mr. George Chalmers.

[2] Kindly communicated to me by Thomas Thomson, Esq. Deputy Clerk Register.

Besides these sources, he has occasionally derived assistance from two manuscript volumes of Selections from the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, and the Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland.[1] Lastly, he has consulted an unpublished volume, entitled "Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary," consisting principally of Letters from the Talbot Correspondence, preserved in the Library of the College of Arms.[2]

In the examination of these materials, with a view to impart the condensed historical result to the reader, the only merit to which the Author ventures to lay claim, is an earnest desire to discover the truth; a task so difficult,

[1] These volumes were obligingly lent me by their Compiler, Mr. Pitcairn, the Author of that laborious and useful work, "The Ancient Criminal Trials."

[2] This valuable volume will soon be presented to the Maitland Club by Mr. Kirkman Finlay. We owe its compilation to Mr. Stevenson, Sub-Commissioner of the Public Records, whose learning and enthusiasm have done so much for the remoter periods of Scottish History.

that in looking back upon the wide field over which he has travelled, he can sincerely say, that each succeeding volume has more fully convinced him of the imperfection of its predecessor, and impressed upon his mind the necessity of increased labour if he hopes to produce any thing which is worthy to live.

This volume was nearly finished printing, when Mr. Van Raumer presented to the world his work, entitled "Contributions to Modern History," from the British Museum and the State Paper Office, embracing Illustrations of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots, and of the character and conduct of Elizabeth. It is to be regretted that this lively and ingenious writer, should have fallen into the singular mistake of printing as new materials, what has been long familiar to the critical readers of Scottish and English history. The letters, or rather the extracts from letters, which he has given as illus-

trating the first part of the reign of Mary, from 1561 to 1565, had (with a few slight exceptions) been published from the originals by Keith, in his elaborate work, entitled, "The History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland." (Edinburgh, 1734.) This volume of Keith, was the great mine from which Robertson drew his stores, and it formed the chief basis of Hume for the Scottish portion of his history. Its letters have been repeatedly quoted by succeeding writers, and it is still of the greatest utility to every reader who is anxious to derive his knowledge from authentic sources. To repeat these letters was superfluous, to mutilate and misunderstand them, was unfortunate —but, the climax of error was to give them as new matter.[1] The Author mentions this to show that English and Scottish histoians are

[1] This fact, of the previous publication of these letters by Keith, has been stated in an able article of the British and Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 7.

not so utterly neglectful of the manuscript riches of England, as has been supposed, and that the "new lights," which some of the periodical critics have hailed, as proceeding from Prussia, may indeed be new to that country, but have been burning for upwards of a century in England. Mr. V. Raumer, whose continental reputation is firmly established, will, it is hoped, receive these remarks as they are meant to be given—in the spirit of necessary, but not unfriendly criticism.

LONDON,
March 2d, 1837.

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HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

MARY.

(*Continued.*)

1545 - 1554.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.	*France.*	*Spain.*	*Portugal.*	*Germany.*	*Popes.*
Henry VIII.	Francis I.	Charles V.	Emanuel	Charles V.	Clement VII.
Edward VI.	Henry II.		the Great.		Paul III.
Mary.			John III.		Julius III.

THE murder of Cardinal Beaton was followed, as might have been anticipated, by the most important consequences. It removed from the head of affairs a man, whose talents for political intrigue, and whose vigorous and unscrupulous character, had for some time communicated strength and success to the government—it filled with alarm that party in Scotland which was attached to the Romish faith, and interested for the support of the freedom and independence of the country, whilst it gave new spirit to the powerful faction which had been kept in pay by Henry the Eighth, and through whose as-

sistance this monarch confidently looked forward to the accomplishment of his favorite schemes; the marriage of the youthful Queen of Scotland, to his son, the Prince of Wales, the establishment of the Reformation, and the entire subjugation of this country under the dominion of England.

If the fact had not been already apparent, the events which immediately succeeded the assassination of the cardinal rendered it impossible for any one to escape the conclusion that the conspiracy had been encouraged by the English monarch. Scarcely was the act perpetrated when letters were despatched to Lord Wharton, the English warden, by some of those numerous spies whom he retained, describing the consternation which the event had produced in the capital, the change in affairs which was likely to ensue, and the necessity for immediate exertion on the part of his master.[1] On the other hand, the conspirators, who had seized the castle of St. Andrew's, were soon joined by many adherents, previously the most zealous supporters of the English interests; and who, although not present at the murder, believed that it would subject them to suspicion and persecution[2];

[1] MS. Letter in State Paper Office. Original from Lord Wharton, June 2nd, 1545, enclosing three letters which he had received from Scotland.

[2] Anderson's MS. History, vol. ii. p. 80, dorso. They amounted to seven score persons; among them the Laird of Grange, Henry Balnaves, a Senator of the College of Justice, Henry Primrose, the Laird Pitmillie, Mr. John Leslie, Sir John Auchenlech, and sundry gentlemen of the name of Melvin.

amongst these the most noted were John Knox,[1] the great advocate and supporter of the Reformation, Mr. Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, and the Laird of Grange.

Whilst such was the conduct of the English faction, the Governor Arran, and the Queen Regent, exerted themselves to maintain the cause of order, and to bring to punishment those bold and daring men, who had so unscrupulously taken the law into their own hands. A convention of the nobility, spiritual and temporal, was held at Stirling, on the 10th of June; and nothing was left unattempted by which a cordial union might be promoted amongst the parties which separated and distracted the state. The meeting was attended by the chief persons of both factions, by the Earls of Angus, Cassillis and Glencairn, to whose devotion to the English interests many of the late disorders might be attributed, as well as by Huntly, Argile, and the Lords Fleming and Elphinston, who were the leaders in the faction attached to France, and interested in the support of the Romish faith.[2] To conciliate the lords

[1] Knox's History, p. 74. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 866.

[2] MS. Book of the Privy Council of Scotland. Entitled Liber Secreti Consilii, 1545, fol. 28. p. 2. The members present were the Bishops of Orkney and Galloway, the Earls of Angus, Huntly, Argile, Bothwell, Glencairn, and Sutherland, the Commendator of Kelso, the Abbots of Melrose, Pasley, Dumfermling, Cowper, Corsregal, Dryburgh, and Culros; with the Lords Fleming, Ruthven, Maxwell, Somerville, Hay of Yester, Innermeith, Elphinston, Livingstone, Erskine, Sir George Douglas, and Sir William Hamilton.

of the English party, Arran, the Governor, solemnly renounced the contract for the marriage of the young Queen to his son; the "bands" or feudal agreements by which many of the nobles had promised to see this alliance carried into effect, were annulled, and at the same time the Queen Regent released from their written obligations all such barons as had stipulated to oppose the ambitious matrimonial designs of the Governor.[1] On the other hand, the Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and Lord Maxwell[2] cordially embraced the interest of the Queen Regent, approved of the late act of the Scottish parliament, which had dissolved the peace with England, derided all idea of a marriage between Prince Edward and the young Queen; and renounced for ever all those "bands" by which they had tied themselves to Henry, and which had been repeatedly renewed, or forgotten, as their private interest seemed to dictate: Maxwell, who was now made warden of the West Marches, once more took possession of the strong castle of Lochmaben; and twenty peers were selected, out of which number four were directed to remain every successive month with the Governor as his Secret Council.[3]

[1] MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 30, p. 2.

[2] In Anderson's MS. History, vol. ii. p. 81, we find that Robert Lord Maxwell died in July, 1546, and his second son John returned home out of England, and took upon him the government of the country within the wardenry.

[3] On the expiry of the month, their place was to be occupied by other four chosen from the remaining sixteen, and so on throughout the year, care was also taken to select at this convention, each party

The Lords Erskine and Livingston were continued in their charge of the person of the young Queen, and the important office of chancellor, now vacant by the assassination of Beaton, was conferred upon the tried fidelity of the Earl of Huntly.[1] Peace having been lately concluded between England and France, and a clause inserted in the treaty, of which Scotland might, if she chose, avail herself, it was determined by the Privy Council that "the comprehension should

of four who were to serve in rotation, and to intimate to them the month during which they were to give their attendance on the governor; and it was agreed, that when five months had expired, the same councillors should resume their duties in the same order. — MS. Book of the Privy Council, fol. 29, p. 1. "It is devised and ordained by the queen's grace, my lord governor, and hail lords convened in this convention, that certain lords remain with my lord governor, and be of secret council with him, and they to remain monthly with him, and that to the number of four. The 1st month to begin this day the 10th of June.

The 1st month, 10th June to 10th of July.
Robert, Bishop of Orkney.
George, Earl of Huntly.
William, Lord Ruthven.
Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, kt.

2nd month.
Gavin, Arch. of Glasgow.
Arch. Earl of Angus.
Hew, Lord Somerville.
George, Abbot of Dumfermling.

3rd month.
William Bishop, of Dumblane.
Arch. Earl of Argile.
William, Earl of Glencairn.
Donald, Abbot of Cowpar.

4th month.
Patrick, Bishop of Moray.
Patrick, Earl Bothwell.
Gilbert, Earl Cassillis.
Malcolm, Lord Fleming.

5th month.
William, Earl Marshall.
Will. Earl of Montrose.
Andrew, Bishop of Galloway.
Sir Wm. Hamilton, of Sanquhar, Knight.

[1] MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 28. p. 2.

be accepted, without prejudice to the queen, her realm, and its liberties." A conciliatory reply was at the same time directed to be made to the English monarch, who had complained of the depredations committed by Scottish privateers upon his merchantmen.[1]

Having endeavoured to secure the kingdom from without, it only remained to appease its internal commotions by adopting decided measures against the conspirators who held the castle of St. Andrew's. Accordingly, after an ineffectual attempt to negociate, a parliament was convoked (29th July, 1546) in which they were declared guilty of treason:[2] proclamation was made, interdicting all persons from affording them the slightest assistance in their rebellion, and the Governor having assembled an army commenced the siege, with a determination speedily to reduce the fortress. This, however, was found a task of no easy execution: it was naturally strong, and its fortifications had been repaired at great expense by its late master; on the one side the sea rendered it impregnable, and on the land quarter the thickness of its walls defied the imperfect and ill-served artillery of the times. Beaton, from a principle of security had provisioned it fully against attack, and even were it attempted to starve out the garrison, the English fleet which commanded the Firth might at any time throw in supplies. To

[1] MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 38, p. 1. Ibid. fol. 40, p. 2.
[2] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 478, 479.

secure this support the conspirators, or Castilians as they were termed, lost no time in opening a communication with Henry the Eighth. Kircaldy of Grange, Balnaves and John Lesly were sent as envoys to that monarch, and they returned with an assurance of his assistance, on condition that they would promote the marriage between the young Queen and the Prince of Wales, and retain in their hands the eldest son of Arran, who had been made prisoner at the time they seized the castle.[1] Confident in their strength, the besieged derided all the efforts of the Governor, and despising the prayers and remonstrances of those pious men who, with a mistaken zeal for the Reformation, had joined their party, they abandoned themselves to every species of intemperate indulgence.[2] Meanwhile, month after month stole away without any perceptible progress in the siege. Application for assistance was made to France, by Panter, secretary to the Queen, who was sent ambassador to that country.[3] Remonstrances against any intended interference for the defence of the Castilians were addressed to England,[4] but after every effort had been exhausted, it was

[1] Anderson. MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 82.

[2] Knox, History of Reformation, p. 83.

[3] MS. Letter, State Paper Office, 31st March 1547. Panter to the Protector Somerset.

[4] The governor consented to an act by which his eldest son, James Hamilton, then a prisoner, was disinherited till he should recover his freedom, and his second son appointed in his place. This precautionary measure was adopted to make it impossible that

discovered that the only prospect of success lay in an endeavour to cut off all supplies and starve out the garrison. It may convey to us some idea of the imperfection of the military art in these times, when we find a single castle, with a small garrison, resisting for a long period the utmost efforts of the Governor. To make himself master of it he divided the kingdom into four great districts, and the military force of each division was brought successively to bear upon the fortress,[1] yet without any nearer prospect of success. At length, towards the end of December, the garrison showed a disposition to capitulate; their principal defences were greatly injured by the artillery, and they began to suffer from a scarcity of provisions and sickness.[2] Had Arran been aware of this, instead of listening to any offer for a cessation of hostilities, he might within a short period have made himself master of the place —but ignorant of the real condition of the besieged, he accepted terms dictated to him by men who were at the last extremity. They consented to deliver up

under any circumstances, the throne should be occupied by a prince who was a captive in the hands of the enemy.—Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 474.

[1] MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 40, p. 1. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 42.

[2] MS. State Paper Office. Report of the Proceedings relative to the castle of St. Andrew's. It fixes the date of the appointment or armistice, which is variously given by our historians, to have been the 17th December.

the castle as soon as a papal absolution was obtained for the slaughter of the cardinal—they stipulated for a free pardon, and in the interval between the commencement of the armistice and the arrival of the absolution, insisted on retaining the fortress, and keeping possession of the Governor's son as a hostage for the performance of the treaty. At the same moment that these proposals were transmitted to Arran, the Castilians sent an envoy to Henry the Eighth, informing him of their proceedings, declaring that their only object was to gain time to revictual the castle, that they had no intention whatever of abiding by their agreement, and would thus be able to perform their first promises to the English monarch. For this purpose they requested Henry to write to the Emperor, causing him to intercede with the Pope "for the stopping and hindering of their absolution," by which means a longer time would be given them to accomplish their purposes.[1] These conditions Arran accepted, being solicitous, as has been alleged, to protract the time till the arrival of foreign assistance; and intending to be as little faithful as his opponents to the terms of their agreement. He had despatched Panter, the secretary, as ambassador to France, with an earnest request, that the French monarch would fulfil those treaties of alliance which had so long connected the two kingdoms—he called upon him, if Henry would not consent to peace with Scotland, to declare war against him; he entreated

[1] Ibid. MS. State Paper Office.

him to increase his fleet, the surest arm of defence against the enterprises of England, requested an immediate supply in money, arms, and artillery, and in consequence of the ignorance of the Scottish engineers, required the assistance of some experienced men, learned in the attack and defence of fortified places, and who understood the "ordering of battles."[1]

In the mean time an extraordinary and interesting scene took place within the fortress. Knox, whom we have hitherto known chiefly as the affectionate and courageous disciple of Wishart, had retreated into the castle with the barons of Ormiston and Long Niddry and their sons, whose education he conducted. In the chapel within the fort he catechised his pupils, and delivered lectures on the Scriptures, where a little congregation was soon assembled, who earnestly entreated him to preach publicly to the people. This, however, he at first peremptorily declined, observing "that he would not run where God had not called him,"[2] but they who were deeply interested in his assuming the office of the ministry, for which they believed him to be eminently qualified, determined to overcome his reluctance. John Rough, whom we have seen dismissed, on account of his zeal for the Reformation, from the situation of chaplain to Arran the Governor, had taken

[1] MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 51, p. 2. fol. 52, p. 1. Articles to be desired at the King of France, for the help and supply to be given to this realm against the King of England.

[2] Knox's History, i. p. 74.

refuge with the rest in the fortress, and on a certain day which had been agreed on, having selected as the subject of his discourse the power resident in a congregation to elect their minister, and the danger of rejecting their call, he, on the conclusion of the sermon, turned abruptly to Knox who was present— "Brother," said he, "I charge you in the name of God, in the name of his Son, and in the name of this congregation, who now call upon you by my mouth, that you take upon you the office of preaching, and refuse not this vocation, as you would avoid God's heavy displeasure." The address was solemn, and totally unexpected by Knox, who, confused and agitated, in vain attempted to reply, but bursting into tears, retired from the assembly.[1] After a few days of great conflict and distress of mind, he accepted the invitation; and without any further ceremony or ordination than that already received previous to his adoption of the reformed opinions, he assumed the public office of a preacher.[2] The reformer was then in the forty-first year of his age.

[3] In the midst of these scenes occurred the death of Henry the Eighth, which was followed not long after by that of his great contemporary Francis the First, but these events did not materially alter the policy of either kingdom. Francis notwithstanding his occasional political predilection for the Protestants,

[1] Knox's History, p. 75.

[2] M'Cries Life of Knox, p. 40. Edition 1812. Ibid. p. 48. Ibid. p. 11.

had been an earnest disciple of the Romish church, and the great preponderance of the house of Guise, under his successor Henry the Second, inclined that monarch more vigorously to support the same party in Scotland. Immediately after his coronation, Monsieur D'Osell was despatched to that country to confirm the league which had so long bound its interests to France; assurances of support were liberally held out against the ambitious designs of England, and D'Osell, who enjoyed the intimate confidence of the Queen Dowager, remained as ambassador at the Scottish court.[1]

In England, the accession of Edward the Sixth, then a promising boy in his ninth year, and the assumption of the protectorate by his uncle the Duke of Somerset, brought no change of policy in dealing with Scotland. Henry, it is said, on his deathbed had earnestly recommended the prosecution of the war with that country, under the mistaken idea that the Scots would be compelled at the point of the sword to fulfil the treaty of marriage; and Somerset, by one of the first acts of his government, showed a determination to carry this injunction into effect. On the 6th of February, Balnaves repaired to the English court as envoy from the Castilians, and received from the Protector a confirmation of the annuities which had attached to England the conspirators against Beaton. It was resolved to strengthen the garrison of the castle by remitting money for the

[1] Lesly, Pannat. Edition p. 193. 31st. March, 1547.

maintenance of troops. Lesly, one of the assassins, was commanded to remain at court, to communicate with his friends; and Balnaves received injunctions, on his return to Scotland, to use his utmost efforts to seduce the nobility from their allegiance to the Governor.[1]

Somerset at the same time determined to lead an army into Scotland. He addressed a letter to the nobility of that realm, reminding them of the league by which they had bound themselves to assist the late king of England in the accomplishment of his designs, he called upon them for a performance of their promises; and so successful was Balnaves in his intrigues, that many of the Scottish nobles and barons showed a readiness to repeat the same disgraceful game by which they had enriched themselves under the former reign.[2]

In the midst of these difficulties which disturbed his government, Arran exerted himself to create a vigorous union against the enemies of the country. Suspicious, from the experience of the former reign, that other designs than a simple matrimonial alliance were contemplated by England, and aware of the preparations for invading the kingdom, he laboured to attach the chief nobility to his service — to

[1] MS. Privy Council Records of Edward VI. p. 9.—Transcript by Gregory King, Lancaster Herald.

[2] MS. Letter State Paper Office.—Laird of Langton to the Protector Somerset, 18 Aug. 1547. Also Patrick Lord Gray to the Protector, 28 Aug. 1547

strengthen the border defences, and to train the people, by weapon-shawings or armed musters, which had been of late much disused, to greater skill in military exercises; he encouraged the equipment of privateers and armed merchantmen, as the only substitute for a national fleet, and he anxiously endeavoured to compose those destructive and sanguinary feuds amongst some of the principal barons which had of late years greatly increased, and even in the midst of peace exposed the state to all the horrors of war.[1]

Such being the threatening aspect of both countries, hostilities could not be long delayed. A Scottish privateer, named the Lion, was captured by the Pevensy, an English ship; in reply to the remonstrances of the Queen Dowager, it was affirmed that the former had been the aggressor,[2] and not long after a force of five thousand English broke across the western borders, plundered the country, made prisoner the laird of Johnston with others of his surname, and seized and garrisoned many of the towers upon the marches.[3] To repel this aggression, which was loudly complained of as an open declaration of war, Arran assembled an army, advanced rapidly to the borders, stormed and rased the castle of Langhope, and was about to

[1] MS. Record of Privy Council of Scotland. Sub annis 1546, 1547.

[2] Carte, vol. iii. p. 205. MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Queen Dowager to the Protector, 18 April, 1547.

[3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 43. Maitland. Vol. ii. p. 867.

pursue his advantage,[1] when he received intelligence that a French fleet had entered the Firth, and required his co-operation in the bombardment of St. Andrew's. Nothing could be more welcome than this event. During the armistice, the garrison, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Knox and others who, for conscience' sake, now acted with their party, had abandoned themselves to the most flagrant excesses, ravaging the country, and behaving in a brutal and licentious manner to the poor victims who fell into their hands.[2] Trusting to the support of England, they had, on frivolous grounds, refused to abide by their agreement, when the Papal absolution arrived from Rome, and the Governor, convinced that he had been the dupe of a convention which they had never meant to fulfil, was deeply incensed against them.

Hastening back, therefore, to the scene of action, he found in the bay a squadron of sixteen armed galleons, commanded by Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, a knight of Rhodes, of great military experience. The vessels took up their line with much skill, so as at full tide completely to command the outworks towards the sea. The greater ordnance were landed, raised by engines and planted on the steeples of the

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 43, 44. · MS. Records of Privy Seal. July 24, 1547. Letter to George Earl of Huntly, of the Gift of the Gudis of George Earl of Cathness.—The army was summoned to assemble at Peebles, 10 July, 1547.

[2] Keith, p. 52. Knox's Hist. p. 83. Herries' Memoirs of the reign of Mary, p. 17.

abbey and St. Salvator's college, which overlooked the inner court of the fortress; whilst some large battering mortars were dragged near the gates. During such preparations, the interior of the castle presented an extraordinary scene. Knox, disgusted by the licentiousness of the garrison, raised his awful voice, and denounced their speedy captivity, as the just judgment of God. To the scoffs of the soldiers, who boasted of the strength of their towers and anticipated assistance from England, he declared that their sins had found them out, that their walls would shiver under the cannon, and their bodies be manacled in foreign prisons. Nor was the sentence of this stern adherent of the truth long in finding its accomplishment. The fortifications which had resisted the ill-directed batteries of the Scottish governor, crumbled under the more effective cannonade of the Italian commander. A breach was soon effected; a proposal of the garrison for a sortie canvassed and abandoned as hopeless, and within less than a week a flag of truce was seen approaching. It brought from the besieged an offer to surrender, their lives and property being secured; but the condition was scornfully rejected by the Governor and the Queen. Strozzi declared that it was beyond his commission even to grant them their lives; and if he did so, it must be with reservation that it was afterwards approved of by the King, his master. To this the garrison were compelled to submit. They would acknowledge no lawful authority in Scotland: the Governor, they affirmed, had treacherously betrayed them, and their only

transaction, therefore, should be with the King of France.[1] They were accordingly conveyed prisoners on board the fleet, the plunder of the castle was seized and divided by the victors, and Strozzi, by the advice of the Governor, who dreaded it should fall into the hands of the English, dismantled the fortress, and levelled its defences with the ground. Others, however, ascribe its destruction to the zeal of fulfilling an injunction of the canon law, declaring the vengeance of extermination against any mansion that has witnessed the murder of a cardinal. The booty, which included the personal property of the prelate, amounted in plate, copes, vestments, and jewels of extreme value, to a hundred thousand pounds, a prize

[1] Anderson's MS. History, vol. ii. pp. 94, 95. Lesly, p. 194. Anderson says expressly, "At length he (Strozzi) was content to pardon them their lives, if the king of France should think it good, else to stand to his pleasure." Lesly, p. 194, repeats the same terms. Knox, in his History, gives a different account. The heads of the appointment, he affirms, were—1st, that their lives should be secured to them; 2nd, that they should be safely conveyed to France; 3rd, that if they chose to embrace the conditions proposed to them by the king of France, they should have their freedom, and be at liberty to enter his service; 4th, that if they refused, they should be conveyed, at the expense of France, to what country they chose *except Scotland*. I have preferred the account of the terms of capitulation given in the text, as it appears best supported by the circumstances of the case; and it is confirmed not only by Anderson and Lesly, but by Buchanan, Book xv. cap. 45. —"Leonti Strozzio, incolumitatem modo pacti, se dediderunt." I have been thus particular because an able author has stated that the terms of the capitulation were violated, (Mc. Crie's Life of Knox, p. 52,) of which I see no proof.

which no doubt tempted the return of the French auxiliaries to Scotland. Beaton's death was now amply revenged, and Knox's predictions fulfilled; for the conspirators and their associates, on arriving in France, were partly distributed in the dungeons of various castles in Brittany; whilst others, including the reformer himself, were kept chained on board the galleys, and treated with the utmost rigor.[1]

With this success the Governor was highly gratified. He already possessed Dumbarton, which the English had in vain attempted to recover; St. Andrew's, so lately an object of anxiety, and for the occupation of which the Protector was making every effort, had now fallen; he had been partially successful in his enterprise upon the borders, and could he have succeeded in imparting a spirit of honour and unanimity to the great body of the nobility, there was little reason to be alarmed by the threatened invasion of England.

But a discovery was made in the castle which threw a gloom over all his sanguine anticipations. In the chamber of Balnaves, the agent of the Castilians, was found a register book which contained the autograph subscriptions of two hundred Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, who had secretly bound themselves to the service of England. Amongst these were the Earls of Bothwell, Cassillis, and Marshall, with Lord Kilmaurs, and Lord Gray. The noted Sir George Douglas, the brother of the Earl of Angus, had, it appeared, sent in his adherence by

[1] Lesly, p. 195.

a secret messenger, whilst Bothwell had agreed to give up his castle of the Hermitage, and renounce all allegiance to the Governor, for which good service he was to receive in marriage the Duchess of Suffolk, aunt to the English monarch.[1] So much was apparent to the Governor, but other disgraceful transactions were in progress of which he was ignorant; Lord Gray had not only himself forsaken his country, but was tampering with the Earls of Athol, Errol, Sutherland, and Crawford, whom he found well disposed to declare their mind, provided they were "honestly entertained." He accordingly advised that some money should be given them according to their good deserving.[2] Glencairn, at the same time, transmitted to the Protector a secret overture of service, in which he declared himself ready to assist the King of England in the accomplishment of his purposes, to co-operate in the invasion with his friends and vassals, who were favourers of the word of God, and to raise two thousand men who should be ready either to join the army, or keep possession of the counties of Kyle, Cunningham, and Renfrew. He also gave assurances of the devotion of Cassillis and Lennox to the same cause, requested money to equip a troop of horse, with which he would hold the Governor in check till Somerset's arrival, and added directions for the fortification of some "notable

[1] MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Laird of Langton to the Protector Somerset, 18th Aug. 1547.

[2] Lord Gray to the Protector Somerset, 28th Aug. 1547. MS. Letter, State Paper Office.

strengths" on the east and west borders, by which the whole country might be commanded to the gates of Stirling. It was to be expected that such offers would be highly welcome to the English government, although distrust must have been felt in dealing with persons whose oaths had been so repeatedly and unscrupulously violated. Not a year had elapsed since all these noble barons had solemnly given their adherence to the government of Arran, most of them had been appointed members of the Privy Council, they had approved in Parliament of the dissolution of the marriage and peace with England,[1] and they were now prepared to change sides once more, and promote the purposes of the Protector. Even after such repeated falsehood their overtures were graciously accepted, and they received a pardon for their desertion of their agreement with the late King, under condition that they should perform its conditions in every respect to his son and successor.[2] It is material to notice these terms, as they prove on the one hand that, under the cloak of marriage, Edward like his father Henry, concealed a design for the subjugation of Scotland, and on the other, that the party who favoured this project were dis-

[1] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 476.—MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 32, p. 2.

[2] MS. State Paper Office, entitled, Overture of Service and other Devices, by the Earl of Glencairn. These important facts, which are new to this portion of Scottish history, were found in the Original Letters and Overtures of the Actors, preserved in the State Paper Office.

posed to accomplish their purposes, although at the sacrifice of the independence of the country.[1]

The discovery of such intrigues placed the Governor in an embarrassing situation. To defeat machinations which had spread so widely, required a union of resolution and talent which he did not possess: he was aware that the country was on the point of being invaded by the Protector in person—to have attempted to bring his enemies to justice might have thrown his preparations for resistance into confusion, and spread distrust and dismay throughout the people at a time when vigor and confidence were imperatively required. Either he ought to have pretended a total ignorance, silently taking the best measures to defeat the designs of his enemies; or he should resolutely have seized the chief conspirators; but Arran unfortunately adopted that middle course which was sure to lead to a calamitous result. He dissembled for the moment, and delayed all proceedings against the great body of his opponents, but he threw Bothwell into prison, and thus gave an opportunity to his associates of providing for their own safety.[2]

Yet in the midst of this political irresolution he was not remiss in his military preparations. A line of beacons had been established during the summer upon the hills near the coast, making a chain of communication from St. Abb's-head to Linlithgow; horsemen were kept at each station to carry intelligence,

[1] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 476.—MS. Record of Privy Council, fol. 3.

[2] MS. Accounts of Lord Treasurer, June 27th, 1547.

and it was proclaimed that no persons should leave their habitations, or remove their goods, as the Governor and noblemen of Scotland had determined to repel the invaders, and defend the realm, with the help of God, and at the hazard of their lives.[1]

On the 27th of August the Protector arrived with his army at Newcastle, and at the same time a fleet of thirty-four ships of war and thirty transports, commanded by Lord Clinton, anchored off that port. The English force consisted in all of fourteen thousand two hundred men, of which four thousand were men-at-arms and demi-lances, two thousand light horse, and two hundred Spanish carabineers, mounted. The remaining eight thousand were footmen and pioneers.[2] This force was divided into three principal wards or battles. The vanward was led by the Earl of Warwick, a captain of great experience and resolution, who had been bred to arms in the French wars of Henry the Eighth—the main battle by the Protector in person, and the rear by Lord Dacres of the North, a veteran who still possessed all the fire and vivacity of youth. Each battle was strengthened by wings of horse, consisting of men-at-arms, demi-lances, hacbutteers, and some pieces of artillery, "every piece having its guard of pioneers to clear the way."[3] Lord Grey of Wilton, high marshall of

[1] MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 68. p. 2. Epist. R. Scot. vol. ii. p. 387.

[2] Patten in Dalzel's Fragments of Scottish History, p. 1.

[3] Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 280.—Carte, vol. iii. p. 206.—Patter, p. 32.

the army, commanded the cavalry, having under him Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Peter Mewtas, Sir Francis Fleming, master of the ordnance, and Don Pedro de Gamboa, who conducted a fine body of mounted Spanish carabineers.

We have seen that during the whole of the preceding year, the Scottish Governor had been engaged in war, and being apprehensive that the people, fatigued with perpetual hostilities, might be remiss in obeying his summons, he adopted an expedient for assembling an army, which was seldom used except in cases of imminent peril. He sent the fiery cross throughout the country—a warlike symbol of Celtic origin, constructed of two slender rods of hazel, formed into the shape of a cross, the extremities seared in the fire and extinguished when red and blazing in the blood of a goat, slain for the occasion. From this slight description, it is evident that the custom may be traced back to Pagan times, and it is certain that throughout the highland districts of the country, its summons, wherever it was carried, was regarded with awe, and obeyed without hesitation. Previous to this, we do not hear of its having been adopted in the lowlands; but on the present emergency, being fastened to the point of a spear, it was transmitted by the heralds and pursuivants throughout every part of the realm; from town to town, from village to village, from hamlet to hamlet, the ensanguined symbol flew with astonishing rapidity; and such was its effect, that in a wonderfully short

space of time an army of thirty-six thousand men assembled near Musselburgh.

The Duke of Somerset now entered Scotland, on the 2nd of September, 1547, and without interruption, advanced along the coast, in sight of the English fleet, till he arrived at the defile, then called the Peaths, a deep ravine, over which at the present day is thrown the Pease bridge. It has been well described by Hayward as a "valley stretching towards the sea six miles in length, the banks of which were so steep on either side, that the passage across was not direct, but by paths leading slope-wise, which being many, the place is for that reason called the Peaths, or paths."[1] It was reported in the English host, that the Scots were here prepared to resist the further advance of the English, and undoubtedly such was the advantage of the ground, that with even a small portion of military skill, a far inferior force might have discomfited their whole army, yet this opportunity was neglected, a circumstance which can only be accounted for by the fact, that most of the proprietors of the country through which the enemy held their march, were attached to the interests of the Protector. We know that in Henry Balnaves's register were the names of two hundred gentlemen, who were under promise to England, and when his army lay at Newcastle, the Protector received a visit from the Laird of Mangertown, and forty barons of

[1] Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 281.

the east borders, who tendered their services and were courteously received.[1] The little obstruction which Somerset met during the whole course of his march, may perhaps be thus explained.

Having employed the greatest part of a day in conducting the army, and dragging the artillery through this rugged pass, the Duke made himself master of the neighbouring castles of Dunglass, Thornton and Innerwick, and leaving Dunbar within a gunshot on his right he pushed forward to Linton, where the army crossed the Tyne by the narrow bridge which still remains, whilst the horsemen and carriages forded the river. Here the enemy neglected another excellent opportunity of attacking the English force when defiling across Linton bridge. They contented themselves with pushing forward some of their prickers, or light horse, under Dandy Car, a noted borderer, whose little squadron was put to flight by a charge led by Lord Warwick. Advancing past Hailes Castle, which opened upon them an ineffectual cannonade, they proceeded, on the 7th of September, to Long Niddry, where they encamped for the night.[2] Here the Protector communicating by signal with his fleet which lay near Leith, Lord Clinton, the admiral, came ashore, and after a conference it was resolved that the larger ships should leave the road at Leith, and cast anchor beside Musselburgh, whilst the transports and victuallers should beat in as near as possible to the shore.

[1] Patten's Expedition, p. 27. [2] Patten, p. 42.

The English were now aware that the Scottish army lay beside Musselburgh, and during the march of the succeeding day there were generally in view some small bodies of their light cavalry, which kept galloping backwards and forwards on the eminences overhanging their line of march.

On September the 8th, the Protector halted for the night and encamped near a town, called Salt Preston, now Preston Pans, within view of the enemy's camp, at Edmonstone Edge, about three miles distant, —on his right to the north was the Firth, and towards the south, not far distant, rose the hill of Faside. Upon the long elevated ridges which formed the roots of the hill, the Scottish cavalry showed themselves early next morning, and approached the English vanguard, whooping, shaking their lances, and attempting to provoke them to an onset. They formed a force of one thousand five hundred light horse, led by Lord Hume, and near them lay in ambush a body of five hundred foot. Somerset, however, from the forwardness of these prickers, suspected that they reckoned on some nearer support than was discernible, and gave strict orders to his men to preserve their ranks; but Lord Grey impatient of such provocation, extorted leave to try the effect of a charge: accordingly as soon as they came "scattered on the spur," within a stone cast of the English, and after their usual shouting were beginning to wheel about, Grey with his demi-lances, and a thousand men at arms, charged them at full speed, upon which they faced about, and firmly received his onset. The

weight of the men-at-arms, however, and their barbed steeds, was an overmatch for the slight, though hardy hackneys of the borderers, and after maintaining the conflict for three hours, they were entirely broken, and the greatest part of them cut to pieces. The chase continued for three miles, from Faside hill to the right wing of their army which lay to the south; in this unfortunate affair thirteen hundred men were slain within sight of their camp, Lord Hume was severely wounded, his son, the master of Hume, taken prisoner, and the whole body of the Scottish cavalry nearly destroyed, a loss seriously felt in the next day's battle.[1]

After this success the Protector, accompanied by a small party, descended from Faside hill, by a lane which led directly north, to the church of Inveresk. His object was to examine the position occupied by the Scots, and he was enabled to do so effectually, as the course he took ran almost parallel to their camp, which he could see distinctly. Nothing could be better chosen for strength and security, than the ground whereon they lay, defended on the right by a morass which stretched towards the south, on the left by the Firth, and in front looking eastward by the river Esk, which took its course between them and the enemy. Over this river, to the north and near the Firth, was the bridge of Musselburgh, upon which they had placed their ordnance, so that it was evident to the English commander, upon a slight in-

[1] Patten, pp. 46, 47. Anderson's MS. History, pp. 98. Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 282.

spection, that if they chose to keep their position, it would be impossible to attack them with advantage, or bring them to a battle. Somerset, however, did not fail to observe, that their camp was partially commanded by the hill of Inveresk, and by the higher parts of the lane which led from Faside hill, and having resolved to occupy these places with his ordnance, with the object of forcing them to dislodge from their strong ground, he rode back to his own camp.

On the road he was overtaken by a Scottish herald, with his tabard on, accompanied by a trumpet, who brought a message from the Governor. The herald said his first errand was for an exchange of prisoners, his second to declare, that his master, eager to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, was willing to allow him to retreat without molestation, and upon honorable conditions. The trumpeter next addressed the Duke informing him that, in case such terms were not accepted, his master, the Earl of Huntly, willing to bring the quarrel to a speedy conclusion, was ready to encounter him twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or, if he would so far honor him, man to man. To these messages Somerset made a brief and temperate reply. He declared, turning to the herald, that his coming into Scotland had been at the first to seek peace, and to obtain such terms as should be for the good of either realm. His quarrel he added was just, he trusted, therefore, God would prosper it; and since the Governor had already rejected such conditions as would never again be proffered, he must look now to

its being decided by arms; "and as for thy master," said he, addressing the trumpeter, "he lacketh some discretion to send his challenge to one, who, by reason of the weightycharge he bears (no less than the government of a king's person and the protection of his realm,) hath no power to accept it;—whilst there are yet many noble gentlemen here, his equals in rank, to whom he might have addressed his cartel, without fear of a refusal." At this moment the Earl of Warwick broke eagerly in, telling the messenger that he would not only accept the challenge, but would give him a hundred crowns if he brought back his master's consent.[1] "Nay," said Somerset, "Huntly is not equal in rank to your lordship—but herald, tell the Governor, and the Earl of Huntly also, that we have now spent some time in your country, our force is but a small company—yours far exceeds us, yet bring me word they will meet us in a plain field, and thou shalt have a thousand crowns for thy pains, and thy masters fighting enough."

The herald and his companion were then dismissed, and the Protector pursued his way to the camp, where, after a consultation with his officers, it was thought proper notwithstanding the challenge so lately given, to make a final effort to avert hostilities. A letter was accordingly addressed to the Governor, in which Somerset declared his readiness to retreat from the kingdom on the single condition, that the Scots would consent to keep their youthful queen in

[1] Patten, pp. 49, 50.

her own country, unfettered by any agreement with the French government, until she had reached a marriageable age, and was able to say for herself, whether she would abide by the matrimonial treaty with England. Had such moderate and equitable proposals been made previous to the declaration of hostilities, they would probably have been accepted; but coming at so questionable a moment, they appeared to the Governor to be dictated rather by a conviction in the Protector, that he could no longer support his army in an enemy's country, than by any real love of peace. On showing the letter to Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was much in his confidence, he expressed the same opinion, and it was agreed to suppress the communication entirely, whilst a report was spread that an insulting, instead of a conciliatory message had been transmitted, requiring the Scots to deliver up their queen, and submit themselves to the mercy of their enemy.[1]

Such being the result of this last attempt, nothing was left to either party but an appeal to arms, and early on the morning of the 10th of September, the Duke of Somerset broke up his camp, and gave orders for the army to advance towards the hill of Inveresk, his design being to encamp near that spot, and to plant his ordnance on the eminence commanding the Scottish position: this movement was no sooner perceived by the Scottish governor, than he embraced the extravagant idea that the Protector had

[1] Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 283.

commenced his retreat towards his fleet, which had removed two days before from Leith, and now lay in Musselburgh bay, with the design of embarking his army. He instantly resolved to anticipate him by throwing himself between the English and their ships, and disregarding the advice of his best officers, who earnestly recommended him to keep his strong position till, at least, the demonstrations of the enemy became more definite, he gave orders for the whole army to dislodge and pass the river.[1] Angus who led the vanward, deeming it madness to throw away their advantage, refused to obey; but being charged on pain of treason to pass forward, he forded the river, and was followed, although after some delay, by the Governor, who led the main battle, and the Earl of Huntly with his northland men who formed the rear. The advance mustered ten thousand strong, embracing the strength of Fife, Merns, Angus and the West Country; it was flanked on the right by some pieces of artillery drawn by men, and on the left by four hundred light horse; it included also a large body of priests and monks, who marched under a white banner, on which was painted a female kneeling before a crucifix, her hair dishevelled, and, embroidered underneath, the motto "Afflictæ Ecclesiæ ne obliviscaris."[2]

In the main battle was the power of Lothian, Fife, Strathern, Stirlingshire, and the great body of the

[1] Maitland, vol. ii. p. 874. Hayward, 284.

[2] Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 286. Anderson's MS. History, vol. ii. p. 101.

barons of Scotland, having on the right wing the Earl of Argyle, with four thousand West Highlanders, and on the left the Islemen, with Macleod, Macgregor, and other chieftains.[1] It was defended also on both flanks by some pieces of artillery, as was likewise the rear, but the guns were clumsily worked, and seem to have done little execution; whilst the Scots, though greatly superior in number, were inferior in military strength, from their having neither hacbutteers nor men at arms.

This movement of the Scots in abandoning their advantage, and crossing the river, was viewed with equal astonishment and pleasure by the English commander. He had dislodged from his camp, and commenced his march at eight in the morning, and before he was half way to Inveresk, the enemy having surmounted the hill, were seen advancing towards the English. Somerset, and the Earl of Warwick, who happened to be riding together at this moment, instantly perceived their advantage, thanked God for the fortunate event, ordered forward their artillery, and taking a joyful leave of each other, proceeded to their respective charges, the former to the vanward, and the Duke to the main battle, where was the king's standard.[2] Warwick immediately arranged his division upon the side of the hill; the Protector formed his battle chiefly on the hill, but his extreme right rested on the plain; the rear, under Lord Dacres,

[1] Pitscottie by Dalzel, vol. ii. p. 496.
[2] Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 284.

were drawn up wholly on the plain, whilst Lord Grey, with the men-at-arms and the mounted carabineers, were stationed at some distance on the extreme left. His orders were to take the enemy in flank, yet he was strictly interdicted from making any attack till the foot of the vanward were engaged with the enemy, and the main battle was near at hand for his support. By the time these arrangements were completed, the Scots were considerably advanced, their object being to throw themselves between the English and their fleet; but in accomplishing this, the wing of their rearward, which moved nearest to the Firth, found themselves exposed to the fire of one of the English galleys, which galled them severely, slew the Master of Graham, with some others who were beside him, and threw Argile's Highlandmen into disorder.[1] Checked in this manner, their army fell back from the ground which was thus exposed, and declining to the southward, took a direct line towards the west end of the Faside-hill.[2] Their object was to win this side of the hill, and availing themselves of the advantage to attack the enemy from the higher ground; but as soon as the Protector perceived this movement, he commanded Lord Grey and Sir Ralph Vane, with the veteran bands of the men-at-arms, called Bulleners,[3] and the demi-lances under Lord Fitzwaters, to charge

[1] This fact is stated both in the English and Scottish accounts of the battle, but in walking over the field, I found it extremely difficult to account for it.—See Patten, p. 55.

[2] Patten, p. 55.

[3] From their having been employed as the garrison at Boulogne.

the right wing of the Scots, and if they could not break it, at least to keep it in check till their own vanward might advance further on the hill, and their centre and rear coming up, form a full front against the enemy. This manœuvre, although aware of its perilous nature, was executed by Lord Grey with the utmost readiness and gallantry. Observing the Scottish infantry advancing at so round a pace, that many deemed them to be rather cavalry than foot,[1] he waited for a short space, till Lord Warwick was pretty well up with the enemy, and then, commanding the trumpets to sound, charged down the hill at full gallop, right against the left wing of Angus's division. The shock at first was dreadful, but the superiority of infantry over cavalry was soon evinced. The Scottish foot were armed with spears eighteen feet in length, far exceeding that of the lances of the men-at-arms, and they knew well how to avail themselves of this advantage. Angus, on observing the intention of the English, had commanded his men to form in that formidable order which had often effectually resisted the chivalry of England. Nothing could be more simple, but nothing more effective. The soldiers closed inwards, so near as to appear locked together shoulder to shoulder. The front line stooped low and almost knelt, placing the butt-end of their pike against the right foot, grasping it firmly with both hands, and inclining its steel point breast high against the enemy; the second

[1] Patten, p. 56.

rank crossed their pikes over their shoulders, the third assumed the same position, and so on to whatever depth the column might be, giving it the appearance of a gigantic hedge-hog covered with an impenetrable skin of steel bristles.[1] Against such a body, if the men stood firm, the finest cavalry in the world could not make any serious impression. It happened, also, that a broad muddy ditch or slough lay between the English and the Scottish foot, into which the horses plunged up to the counter, and with great difficulty cleared it. Yet, undismayed by these adverse circumstances, Lord Grey, heading his men-at-arms, struggled through, and with his front companies charged full upon the enemy's left. No human force, however, could break the wall against which he had thrown himself, and in an incredibly short time two hundred saddles were emptied, the horses being stabbed in the belly with the spears, and the riders who had fallen, speedily dispatched by the whingers or short double-edged daggers, which the Scots carried at their girdle. Such was the fate of Shelly, Ratcliff, Clarence, Preston, and other brave and veteran commanders of the Bulleners. Flammock, who carried the English standard, saved the colours, but left the staff in the hands of the enemy.[2] Lord Grey himself was dangerously hurt in the mouth and neck. Many horses, furious from their wounds, and

[1] So that it were as easy, to use the words of an eye-witness, for a bare finger to pierce the skin of an angry hedge-hog, as for any one to encounter the brunt of their pikes.—Patten, p. 59.

[2] Lord Herries' Memoirs, p. 20.

plunging in their agony, carried disorder into their own companies, and such was soon the inextricable confusion into which the whole body of the men-at-arms was thrown, that a portion of them, breaking away, fled through the ranks of their own division, whilst Lord Grey had the greatest difficulty in extricating the rest, and retreating up the hill with their shattered and wounded remains. At this critical moment, had Angus been supported by the rest of the army, or had the Scots possessed any body of men-at-arms, who by a timely charge might have improved their advantage, the English would in all probability have been undone.[1] But the cavalry had been nearly cut to pieces in the action of the day before, and the centre and rear under the Governor and Huntly were still at a considerable distance; the vanward, therefore, unable to pursue the fugitives, and not choosing to advance against the main body of the enemy till certain of support, halted for a brief space. The opportunity was thus lost, and the Earl of Warwick, aware of the infinite value of a few minutes gained at such a juncture, galloped through the wavering ranks of the advance, re-established their order, disengaged the men-at-arms from the infantry, and rallying them, with the assistance of Sir Ralph Saddler, pushed forward the company of the Spanish carabineers. These fine troops, armed both man and horse in complete mail, galloped up to the brink of the broad ditch, and coming within half-musket range

[1] Hayward, p. 284. Patten, pp. 61, 62, 65.
[2] Patten, p. 65. Holinshed, p. 239.

discharged their pieces full in the faces of the Scottish infantry. This attack was seconded by Sir Peter Mewtas, who brought up his foot hacbutteers: the archers now moving rapidly forward discharged a flight of arrows, and at the same moment the artillery, which had been judiciously placed on the hill, were made to bear upon Angus's division, who, dreading the effect of so complicated an attack, began to fall back, though in good order, to the main battle. At this instant the Highlanders, who, unable to resist their plundering propensities, were dispersed over the field, stripping the slain, mistook this retrograde movement for a flight, and seized with a sudden panic began to run off in all directions. Their terror communicated itself to the borough troops: these formed a main portion of the centre, and starting from their ranks, although still a quarter of a mile distant from the enemy, they threw away their weapons, and followed the Highlanders. In the midst of this shameful confusion, the Governor, instead of exerting himself to rally the fugitives, shouted treason, a cry which only increased the disorder. The Earl of Warwick meanwhile was coming fast forward, the horsemen once more showed themselves ready to charge, and the English centre and rear hastened on at an accelerated pace. Had the Scottish vanward been certain that support was near at hand, they might, even alone, have withstood this formidable attack; but, deserted by the rest of the army, they did not choose to sacrifice themselves; and the body which so lately had opposed an impenetrable front to the enemy

beginning first to undulate to and fro like a steely sea, agitated by the wind, after a few moments was seen breaking into a thousand fragments and dispersed in all directions: every thing was now lost, the ground over which the flight lay was as thickly strewed with pikes as a floor with rushes; helmets, bucklers, swords, daggers, and steel caps lay scattered on every side, cast away by their owners, as impeding their speed, and the chase beginning at one o'clock continued till six in the evening with extraordinary slaughter. The English demi-lances and men-at-arms, irritated by their late defeat, hastened after the fugitives with a speed heightened by revenge[1], and passing across the field of their late action, were doubly exasperated by seeing the bodies of their brave companions stript by the Highlanders lying all naked and mangled before their eyes. Crying to one another to remember Panierheugh, the spot where Sir Ralph Evre and his company had in the former year been cut to pieces by the Earl of Angus, they spurred at the top of their speed after the fugitives, cutting them down on all sides, and admitting none to quarter, but those from whom they hoped for a heavy ransom. The Scots fled in three several ways, some straight upon Edinburgh, some along the coast to Leith, but the most part towards Dalkeith, with the object of throwing the morass, which had defended the right of their camp, between them and their pursuers.[2] Yet this proved so ineffectual a security, that, before the chase was ended, fourteen

[1] Patten, p. 66. [2] Ibid.

thousand were slain, the river running red with blood, and the ground for five miles in distance and four in breadth being covered, says an eye-witness, as thick with dead bodies, as cattle in a well-stocked pasture field.[1] It was recorded, that in Edinburgh alone this day's battle made three hundred and sixty widows.[2] Little pity was shown to the priests, multitudes of whom were slain,[3] and mingled amongst the corpses of common soldiers, whilst their sacred banner lay trampled under foot and soiled with blood.

The evening was now advancing to night, the pursuit had lasted for five hours, and the Protector causing a retreat to be sounded, the army mustered again on the ridge of Edmonstone Edge, beside the Scottish tents, where joyous at their victory, they gave a long loud shout, which, as they afterwards were told, was so shrill and piercing, that it was heard in the streets of the capital.[4]

This great defeat, named from the adjoining fields the battle of Pinky, if immediately followed up by Somerset, might have led to results most fatal to Scotland. Had he pursued the fugitive Governor to Stirling, where the young Queen was kept, made himself master of its castle, which could not have held out long against such a force as he commanded, occupied Edinburgh, seized and fortified the town and harbour of Leith, and after leaving a garrison to defend it, taken his progress through the country, and offered a general protection to the Scots, the

[1] Patten, p. 67 [2] Herries' Memoirs, p. 21. [3] Patten, p. 72.
[4] Ibid. p. 71.

consequences must have been eminently hazardous. But providentially for Scotland, the Protector at this moment received information of secret plots against him in England; and he resolved to hurry home, that he might confront and defeat his enemies. His measures, in consequence of this abrupt decision, were confused and ill-digested. Their cruelty alienated the minds of the people, and their impolicy shook the confidence of the Scottish barons who had attached themselves to his service. Advancing from Edgebuckling Bray, where he had encamped after the battle, to Leith, he quartered his horse in the town, ravaged the neighbouring country, received the submission of the Earl of Bothwell, whom he released from prison,[1] burnt Kinghorn, with some petty fishing ports upon the coast of Fife, and garrisoned a deserted monastery upon Inch Colm, a small island in the Firth. He next spoiled the Abbey of Holyrood, from which he tore off the leaden roof, set fire to Leith, and having remained no longer than a week, commenced his retreat on the 18th of Sept., 1547.[2] The fleet at the same time weighed anchor, and in their passage homeward took possession of the strong castle of Broughty, situated at the mouth of the Tay, which by the treachery of Lord Gray, its owner, was, on the first summons, delivered to the enemy.[3] It was newly fortified and garrisoned, after

[1] Anderson, MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 106.

[2] Lesly, Hist. pp. 200, 201. Diurnal of Occurents, p. 45.

[3] MS. Letter, St. Paper Off. Lord Clinton, Andrew Dudley, &c. to the Lord Protector, 24th Sept. 1547.

which Clinton returned with his navy to England. During the retreat of Somerset through Merse and Teviotdale he received the submission of the chief men of these districts, who swore fealty to King Edward, and surrendered their castles to the Protector. Amongst these were the Lairds of Cessford, Fernihirst, Ormeston, Mellerstain, and many others. He then seized and garrisoned the strong castle of Hume, and repaired Roxburgh, building a new fort upon the site of the old castle. For the speedy completion of this he was so earnest, that he put his own hand to the spade and shovel, encouraging his lords and officers to the like exertions, so that within a few days it was ready to receive a garrison.[1]

While still at this place intelligence reached the army of the success of the Earl of Lennox and Lord Wharton, who, two days before the battle, had entered Scotland by the west marches at the head of a body of five thousand men. The object was to create a diversion in these parts, and prevent them from sending their force to join the main army of Scotland. In this inroad they took Castlemilk, giving it in charge to Sir Edward Dudley, wasted the country with fire and sword, and razed to the ground the town of Annan, blowing up the church and steeple, where a brave officer named Lyon, with the Master of Maxwell, and the Lairds of Johnston

[1] Anderson, MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 106, 107. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 111. Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary. Sir E. Dudley to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 11th Sept. 1547-8, p. 24.

and Cockpool made a desperate defence, and were permitted to retire with their lives.[1] In consequence of this success, the whole of Annandale was struck with such terror, that it submitted to England, the borderers swearing allegiance to Edward, and giving pledges for their fidelity.[2] Of these advantages, however, Somerset neglected to avail himself, and whilst such was his impolitic conduct, the measures on the part of the Scots, who still remained true to their allegiance, were prompt and decisive. The cruelty of the slaughter at Pinky, and the subsequent severities at Leith, excited universal indignation; and the idea that a free country was to be compelled into a pacific matrimonial alliance, amid the groans of its dying citizens and the flames of its sea-ports, was revolting and absurd. The Queen Mother, a woman of much spirit and political talent, seized the opportunity to infuse vigour and decision into the national councils. Meeting the Governor, who immediately after his defeat had hurried to Stirling, she assembled the nobility around her, and proposed that a new army should be levied, whilst ambassadors should be despatched to France, with a request for instant assistance. As the enemy still occupied Leith, the infant Queen for the sake of security was conveyed from Stirling to the monastery of Inchmahome, situated in a little island in the Lake of Menteith, where she remained with her governors Lords

[1] Anderson MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 111. MS. letter, St. P. Off. Lord Wharton to the Protector, Carlisle, Sept. 16, 1547.

[2] Anderson, MS. Hist. p. 111.

Erskine and Livingston till the retreat of the Protector.[1] Upon that event, however, the first alarm having subsided, a council was held by the Governor and the Queen Dowager at Stirling, in which it was determined that as the education of the young Queen could not be conducted with any safety or advantage in a country exposed to daily war, she should be sent to the Court of France. D'Osell, the French ambassador, assured the nobility that no more likely method could be adopted to secure the speedy assistance of his master; and finding the proposal agreeable to them, the Queen Mother suggested that the French Dauphin, under the circumstances in which the kingdom was now placed, would be an infinitely more appropriate match for their Queen, when she arrived at a marriageable age, than the English monarch, whose hand had been so rudely forced upon her. This scheme could not fail to be disagreeable to Arran the Governor, who had designed her for his own son; but his influence was on the wane, and although nothing definitive was settled, the ambassadors to the French Court were permitted to sound the inclinations of Henry the Second, who eagerly embraced the overture.[2]

Although the resolute measures adopted by the Queen Dowager, and the retreat of Somerset, sup-

[1] Lesly, Bannat. Ed. p. 200.

[2] Ibid. p. 204. MS. Letter, B. C. State P. Off. Glencairn to the Protector, 23rd Oct. 1547. Also, MS. Letter B. C., Lord Grey to the Protector with the Enclosure, 31st Oct. 1547. Same to the Same, MS. Letter B. C. State P. Off., 16th Nov. 1547. MS. Letter B. C., Grey to the Protector, with news from Scotland, 24th Nov. 1547.

ported in some degree the spirit of the country, it was scarcely to be expected that, under the circumstances in which Scotland stood, the struggle against England could be much longer continued. The land was shamefully deserted by the greater part of its nobility. The Earls of Angus, Glencairn, Cassillis, and Lennox, the Lords Maxwell, Boyd, Gray, and Cranston, the Lairds of Ormeston and Brunston, with many other barons, had entered the service of England, given hostages for their fidelity, and sworn to secret articles which bound them to obey the orders of the Protector.[1] On the side of the Queen, indeed, Argile, at this time one of the most powerful barons in Scotland, had advanced (Jan. 1547-8) at the head of a large force to Dundee, with the determination of making himself master of Broughty Castle, and compelling the English to abandon that part of the country.[2] A seasonable bribe, however, of one thousand crowns caused an immediate and discreditable change of purpose, and imitating the example of his brethren, he embraced the service of England and retired from Dundee,[3] (5th Feb., 1547-8). Bothwell, whose power was

[1] Lord Grey to the Protector, MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B. C., 20th Oct. 1547; also MS. Letter, Ibid, Glencairn to Lord Wharton, 23rd Oct. 1547; also MS. Letter, 3rd Oct. 1547, Kirkpatrick of Closeburn to Lord Wharton, St. P. Off. B. C.: also MS. Letter, 19th Oct. 1547, Grey to the Protector, St. P. Off. B. C.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Sir Aud. Dudley to the Protector, 27th Dec. 1547.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 5th Feb. 1547-8, Sir Aud. Dudley to the Protector. Ibid, Lord Gray of Scotland to the Protector, 7th

great upon the marches, vacillated alternately between the one party and the other; Huntly, the main stay of the Romanists, who had been taken prisoner at Pinky, was allowed to proceed to Newcastle on a solemn engagement to further the views of Edward. Lord Maxwell, another of the prisoners, unscrupulously imitated his example, and Sir George Douglas, the ablest and most unprincipled of the party, not only signed the secret articles, but communicated a plan for an invasion, by which the whole country might be brought in a short time under the subjection of England.[1] With such men, however, no promises or oaths were held sacred; and extraordinary as it may appear, to those barons who had selfishly and basely engaged with the enemy, Scotland at this time owed her preservation. On the 18th of Feb. 1547-8, Lord Wharton assembled the power of the western marches. He was joined by the Earl of Lennox, who commanded the Scottish borderers in the service of England, and, according to their agreement, he expected to be strengthened by

Feb. 1547-8. The first being a receipt of Gray for a thousand crowns to be paid to Argile; the second stating "that Argile's mind is wonderfully given to further the King's godly purpose. MS. Letter, Feb. 15th, 1547-8. Thomas Wharton to the Protector, St. P. Off. B. C.

[1] Grey to the Protector, 20th Oct. 1547, MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B. C. MS. Letter, Ibid. 21st Nov. 1547, Lord Gray to the Protector. MS. Letter, Ibid. 31st Oct. 1547, Lord Grey to the Protector; also, Ibid. 24th Nov. 1547, Lord Grey to the Protector; also, Ibid. 20th March, 1547-8, Lord Huntly to the Protector; also, Ibid. Grey to the Protector, 20th Oct. 1547; also, Ibid. 15th Nov. 1547, Lord Wharton to the Protector.

the whole power of the Douglasses, and the master of Maxwell, who held the chief command in these parts. Maxwell, however, after having given pledges to England, was bribed to desert his agreement, by a promise that he should marry the heiress of Terregles, a rich ward of the Governor's; and Angus, notwithstanding his near connexion with Lennox, deserted him. On his advance Wharton found in his allies, to use his own expressive phrase, "an accustomed fashion of untruth." The Scottish Earl made his appearance, but afterwards escaped to his own men; and enraged at this breach of promise, Wharton determined to waste the country and take vengeance on such treachery. Incautiously dividing his little army, which consisted of three thousand men, he sent forward the cavalry under his son Henry, and himself followed with the foot. But scarce had he proceeded a few miles through a wild, difficult, and wasted country, when he was attacked and entirely routed by the Earl of Angus.[1] The Scottish Lord had first dispersed the party in advance; and the assured Scots under the master of Maxwell, who composed a considerable portion of the English force, no sooner saw the day likely to turn against their employers, than, following the example shown at Ancrum, they tore away their red crosses and slaughtered their allies

[1] MS. Letter, 15th Nov. 1547, State P. Off., B. C. Lord Wharton to the Protector. Ibid. 18th Feb. 1547-8. Thomas Wharton to the Protector. MS. Letter, Ibid. Lord Wharton to the Protector, Lochmaben, 21st Feb. 1547-8. Ibid. MS. Letter, 23rd Feb. 1547-8. Thomas Wharton to the Protector.

without honour or mercy.[1] Yet, although successful, it was a dear bought victory to the Scots, six hundred being slain or drowned in the river Nith, and many of the principal barons made prisoners in a charge of cavalry, which checked the triumph of the enemy though it could not restore the day. Wharton, after making extraordinary efforts, by which he extricated himself from his perilous embarrassment, retreated with the remnant of his force to Carlisle,[2] and Lord Grey, who at the same time had pushed forward to Haddington, was compelled by the news of this severe reverse to retire to Berwick. He had been joined by the Lairds of Ormeston, Brunston, and many of the barons of Lothian, to the number of one thousand horse; their houses on his precipitate retreat, were sacked by the Governor, and in one noted instance Arran hanged every man in the garrison which held out against him.[3] This impolitic cruelty drew after it a stern and terrible retaliation. Pledges, as we have seen, had been given by the Scots in the English service, as hostages for their fidelity, and amongst these were many young and noble youths. Lord Wharton, smarting under his defeat, and exasperated by the desertion of Max-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B. C., 23rd Feb. 1547-8, Carlisle. Thomas Wharton to the Protector.

[2] Earl of Lennox and Lord Wharton to the Protector, 25th Feb. 1547-8. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., B. C.

[3] MS. Letter. Grey to the Protector, 23rd Feb. 1547-8, St. P. Off.; also 27th Feb. 1547-8. Grey to the Protector, St. P. Off. B. C.; and Same to the Same, 1st March, 1547-8, St. P. Off. B. C.

well and the assured Scots, held a court for the trial of the pledges, at the "Moot Hill," beside Carlisle, and condemned ten to be hanged: four of these were instantly executed, amidst the tears and lamentations of their friends who vainly implored delay; six were respited, whilst some priests and friars who had been caught in the Scottish army were dragged along with halters round their necks, and threatened to be tied up to the nearest trees.[1]

In the midst of these difficulties, when the Governor, despairing of foreign assistance, was about to give up the contest, the conduct of the Queen Mother deserved much praise. Upon the retreat of the Protector, she brought back the young Queen from the monastery of Inchmahome to the castle of Dumbarton, and took immediate steps for transporting her into France.[2]

Alarmed by so decisive a measure, the Protector determined to make an attempt at conciliation, and some months after his retreat, addressed a manifesto (February 5th, 1547-8) to the Governor, in which he disclaimed all views of subjugating the realm, or subverting the government of Scotland. His only object, he declared, was, by marriage, to unite the two kingdoms upon a footing of perfect equality, and he desired that the names of England and Scotland,

[1] MS. Letter, Lennox and Wharton to the Protector, 25th Feb. 1547-8, St. P. Off. B. C.; also, Lord Wharton to the Protector, 18th March 1547-8, St. P. Off. B. C.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B. C., 27th Feb. 1547-8. Lord Grey to the Protector. Ibid. 4th March, 1547-8. A Scottish Spy to Lord Wharton.

which had for so many centuries been arrayed in mortal hostility against each other, should henceforth be sunk under the common appellation of Britain.[1] These advances, however, came too late; and having been disregarded by the Governor, Lord Grey, at the head of a powerful force, once more entered the country, carried his ravages through the Merse and Midlothian up to the gates of the capital, rased Dalkeith and Musselburgh, took and fortified Lauder and Haddington, and after leaving in the last place a strong garrison, returned to England.[2] This expedition was rendered remarkable by the taking of the castle of Dalkeith, the stronghold of the crafty and able leader, George Douglas; who, after his old fashion, represented himself as favourably inclined to England. "I pretended no manner of enmity against him," says Grey in a letter to the Protector, "but that still I had hope of his conversion, to breed in him such trust, that the less doubting, the sooner I might be revenged or get him into my hands." Trusting to these assurances the Scottish Baron lay secure, as he believed, in his castle, whilst Gamboa, a Spanish leader in the service of England, and sixty mounted hacbutteers, scoured and burnt the country in his neighbourhood; but before the least intelligence could reach him, Captain Wilford, with six hundred foot and one hundred horse,

[1] Carte, vol. iii. p. 222.

[2] Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 46, 47. MS. Letter. St. P. Off.—B. C. Grey to the Protector, 23 April, 1548. Also MS. Letter Same to Same, 12 June, 1548. Ibid. B. C.

had crossed the Esk, and pushing forward his advance, summoned the castle. Even then Douglas boldly encountered him at the head of his pikemen. By superiority of numbers, however, he was driven back through a postern. The English gained the base court after a desperate struggle, in which forty of the Scots were slain, and Wilford was proceeding to undermine and blow up the walls, when the garrison yielded without conditions. Much wealth was found in the place, as, according to Gray's account, "all the country had brought their goods together, thinking that nothing could prevail against George's policy.[1] He himself escaped, but his wife, his eldest son, the Master of Morton, afterwards Regent; the Abbot of Arbroath, a natural son of Angus, Home the Laird of Wedderburn, and many of the Douglasses, fell into the hands of the enemy. To be thus overreached and entrapped in his own devices was peculiarly mortifying to this long-practised intriguer, and seems to have sunk deeper into his spirit than the loss either of his wife or his castle. Meanwhile the Governor had been repulsed in an attempt against Broughty Fort; and the chief citizens of Dundee, amongst whom the doctrines of the Reformation were making great progress, declared for England.[2] Many of the

[1] MS. Letter, Grey to the Lord Protector.—St. P. Off. June 4, 1548.

[2] They offered to hold their town against all the efforts of the Governor, and, in return, requested some good preacher to be sent them, with a supply of English bibles and other godly books. MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Dudley to the Protector, Nov. 1, 1547.

leading Scottish barons had already, as we have seen, signed articles of submission to the Protector,[1] and so successful was Wharton, that six thousand men had bound themselves to join his force, giving hostages for their fidelity.[2] Under these circumstances, we can scarcely be surprised that the people, worn out by the continuance of war and the ravages of the plague, which now desolated the country, were on the point of falling into despair. At such a time, therefore, it was with no ordinary feelings upon the part not only of the Queen Mother and her friends, but of the nation, that a French fleet was seen to enter the Firth, and an army of six thousand foreign troops soon after disembarked at Leith (16th June).[3] It was commanded by Andrew de Montalembert, Sieur D'Essé, an experienced officer, and, besides an excellent train of artillery, included three thousand Germans under the Rhinegrave, and a body of Italians led by Leo Strozzi. Arran instantly joined them with a force of five thousand men, and after a few days spent in consultation, the united armies invested Haddington, whilst a Parliament assembled (17th July) in the abbey beside the town.[4] At this

[1] Lord Grey to the Protector, 20 Oct., 1547. St. P. Off. B. C.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Wharton to the Protector. Carlisle, Nov. 12, 1547.

[3] De Thou, Book v. p. 250.

[4] Lesly, pp. 208, 209. MS. Letter. St. P. Off. B. C. Grey to the Protector, June 17, 1548. Ibid. July 14, 1548, Lord Wharton to the Protector.

meeting of the three estates, Monsieur D'Essé brought from his royal master an affectionate assurance of his anxiety to assist his allies in defence of their independence against, what he termed, the cruelty and arrogance of England. He declared he was ready, in addition to the army now sent, to grant them every further aid that might be necessary, in troops, money, and arms, and he concluded by expressing the anxiety of the French monarch that the league which for so many centuries had bound the nations to each other, should now be further strengthened by a marriage between his son, the Dauphin, and their youthful Queen,[1] whose education, if they would commit her to his charge, he would superintend with the utmost care and affection. To these proposals the Scottish parliament unanimously agreed, under the single condition that the French monarch should solemnly promise to preserve the laws and liberty of the realm of Scotland, as they had existed under the race of her own kings. Measures were immediately adopted for the passage of the infant Queen to France, and as it was known that the Protector, aware of the design, had sent Clinton with a fleet to intercept her, great caution was necessary.

Monsieur Villegagnon, with four galleys, weighing anchor from Leith, pretended to sail for France, but on clearing the mouth of the Firth, he changed his course, and passing through the Pentland Firth round

[1] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 481, 482.

Scotland, came before Dumbarton,[1] where the Queen awaited his arrival. Mary, who was now a beautiful infant in her sixth year, was delivered by her mother to Monsieur de Breze, who conveyed her on board the royal galley. She was accompanied by her governors the Lords Erskine and Livingston, and by the Lord James, her natural brother, afterwards the regent Murray, and then a youth in his seventeenth year; whilst along with her embarked her four Marys, children of a like name and age with herself, selected as her playmates from the families of Fleming, Beton, Seton, and Livingston.[2] Scarce had she embarked when the English admiral, with his fleet, was seen off St. Abb's head, but setting sail about the 7th of August, the little squadron with its royal freight escaped every danger, and cast anchor in the harbour of Brest on the 13th of August, 1548. From this place the young Queen took her progress to the palace of St. Germain, where she was joyfully received by the French monarch, and an honourable court and household appointed for her[3] at the public expense. Having completed these arrangements, Henry directed his ambassador, Monsieur de Selves, to inform the Protector and his council that, as father of the Dauphin, the affianced husband of the Scottish Queen, and to whom the estates of her realm had

[1] MS. Letter. St. P. Off. B. C. 29 July, 1548, Brende to the Protector. Lesly, p. 209. Bannat. Edn. Lord Herries' Memoirs, p. 23,

[2] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 47. MS. Letter. St. P. Off. B. C. Grey to the Protector, 7 Aug. 1548.

[3] Lesly, p. 210.

already given the investiture of the kingdom, he had taken Scotland under his protection, and considered it as included in the peace between France and England. He required him, therefore, to abstain from all hostilities against that country, and promised that a like cessation should be observed by the Scots.[1]

It was not to be expected that this intimation should produce any effect, and the war continued with equal animosity as before, but at first the success was on the side of England. Haddington held out against every effort of the foreign troops, and although a body of one thousand five hundred English horse who escorted a supply of ammunition, were defeated with great slaughter, such was the bravery of the garrison under Sir John Wilford, that the siege was first turned into a blockade, and afterwards abandoned on the approach of the Earl of Shrewsbury at the head of an army of twenty-two thousand men. To co-operate with the land troops, a fleet under Lord Clinton appeared in the Firth, and making a descent at St. Monan, on the coast of Fife were encountered and defeated with great slaughter by the Lord James, lately returned from France,[2] who, on the first intelligence of danger, had mustered the strength of Fife, and here first gave a proof of that cool and determined character which afterwards raised him to such a height of power.[3] To balance this success, however, Haddington was

[1] Memoires D'Estat, par Ribier, ii. p. 152. Carte, vol. iii. p. 223.
[2] Lord Herries' Memoirs, p. 24. Carte, vol. iii. p. 223.
[3] Anderson's MS. History, vol. ii. p. 122 dorso.

fully supplied, and its garrison strengthened by four hundred horse, Dumbar was burnt, Dundee taken, a strong fort raised at Broughty,[1] which overawed the country, another begun at Dunglass, and a force of three thousand German troops encamped in the neighbourhood to complete the work, and reduce that district.[2]

On the retreat, however, of Shrewsbury to England, affairs began to assume a different aspect, and the tide of success soon turned completely in favour of the Scots and their foreign allies. The war, too, assumed a character of more than common ferocity. The Scots, not contented with the slaughter of the captives who fell into their hands, purchased their English prisoners from the French, that they might have the gratification of subjecting them to the most ingenious and protracted kinds of death. Of such excesses, disgraceful as they undoubtedly were, the causes were to be found in the conduct of the English themselves. The cruel slaughter at Pinky,[3] the burning of their sea ports and shipping, the destruction of their harvest, and the pitiless severity with which the repeated invasions of the country had been accompanied, had at length animated the Scots with a universal feeling of revenge, which manifested itself in the most shocking excesses: one example of such scenes may be given as illustrating the times. Farnyhirst Castle, on the east borders, had submitted to

[1] It was called the Brakehill, MS Privy Seal, 1548-9, Feb. 3.

[2] Lesly, pp. 211, 212, 214, 215, 216. Carte, vol. iii. p. 222, 223.

[3] MS. Letter. St. P. Off. 19 Oct. 1550. Mason to the Privy Council.

the English; it was strongly garrisoned, and the commandant and his soldiers had made themselves obnoxious to the common people by many shameful excesses of rapine and licentiousness. Siege was laid to it by the Scottish and foreign troops; the base court was gained, the English archers were driven by the fire of the hacbutteers into the keep, and the engineers had effected a breach in the inner wall, when the commander, afraid of falling into the hands of the Scots, stole forth, and surrendered to the Sieur D'Esse, imploring his protection; but it was in vain, a borderer beholding in him the brutal ravisher of his wife, broke through every impediment, and ere his arm could be arrested, at one blow carried his head four paces from his body.[1] The English had repaired and garrisoned the ruinous fortress of Roxburgh immediately subsequent to the battle of Pinky; the chiefs on the east border had sworn allegiance to the Protector, and the west borderers submitted universally to Lord Wharton, but the submission which had been extorted by fear was, on the first success of the foreign troops, exchanged for the bitterest hostility, and in a short space of time, the country which had been occupied by the enemy was wrested from their hands. The castle of Hume was retaken, the governor of Haddington, Sir John Wilford, made prisoner, and the party he commanded entirely defeated; the German garrison, which had been left in Coldingham, were cut to pieces, the enemy

[1] Lesly, p. 224.

expelled from their fortifications in Inch Keith, the important strength of Fascastle recovered by stratagem, and the English at length compelled to abandon Haddington, the defence of which had cost them so much blood and treasure.[1] But the employment of foreign troops generally brings some calamity along with it: if successful, they insist on a monopoly of the glory; if defeated, they throw the blame upon their employers, and in either case jealousy and heartburnings arise. These causes seem to have operated to their full extent during the campaigns of the French in Scotland, and at last broke out in a tumult in the capital, which was only appeased after the death of the Laird of Stenhouse, the Provost, and the slaughter of many of the citizens.[2]

In the course of these transactions a reinforcement of a thousand foot and three hundred horse arrived from France, (June 23, 1549,) under the command of De Thermes, an experienced officer, who prosecuted the war with such vigor and ability that the English were every where defeated, and compelled at last to surrender the castle of Broughty, their strongest remaining fortress in Scotland.[3] Having obtained this advantage, the Governor laid siege to Lauder, and in a successful attack, had already driven the enemy into the inner court, when intelligence was brought that peace had been concluded at Boulogne between France and England, upon which hostilities were immediately

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 49. Lesly, p. 231, 232.
[2] Lesly, p. 217, 218.
[3] Lesly, p. 227, 228, 231.

suspended.[1] It was found that the French monarch had stipulated very favourable terms for his allies. The English agreed to evacuate Scotland; to demolish the forts which they had raised at Dunglass, Roxburgh, and Eymouth, to surrender Lauder, and to abstain from any invasion, unless upon some new provocation.[2] To these conditions the Governor lost no time in giving in his adherence, sending the Master of Erskine as his Ambassador into France for that purpose, and peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh, in the month of April, 1550.[3]

Thus after a war of nine years were the English obliged to abandon their extravagant projects of compelling the Scots by force of arms into a matrimonial alliance. Had their measures been more judicious and the mode of courtship less boisterous, the match under due restrictions might have proved acceptable to the Governor, the nobles, and the common people—but the violence of the Protector defeated his object, threw his enemy into the arms of France, and rendered the breach between the two nations still wider than before.

To the Queen Mother nothing could be more acceptable than this successful termination of hostilities. The betrothing of the infant Queen to the Dauphin, the brilliant successes of the foreign

[1] Lesly, p. 232. [2] Ibid.

[3] MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 5. p. 1.

[4] MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 4, p, 2.

[5] MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 4. p. 2. Proclamatio Pacis, 20th April, 1550.

troops, and the terms of the peace, established the ascendancy of the French interest, and gave Henry the Second an influence in the management of Scottish affairs, of which she now resolved to avail herself. She had long been dissatisfied with the conduct of the Governor, and instigated alike by her own ambition and the advice of her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal Lorrain, she formed the bold design of supplanting him in the possession of the supreme power. To accomplish this by force was impossible. Towards the conclusion of the war the people and the nobles became jealous of the French auxiliaries,[1] the feeling was increased by the obligations which they owed to them, and the slightest appearance of compulsion employed towards Arran would have roused a spirit of universal opposition. Mary of Guise determined to gain her purpose by the more artful weapons of intrigue and bribery. She knew the venality of the Scottish nobles, she was familiar with the timid and irresolute character of the Governor, and she did not despair, so to manage matters, that he should at length be reduced to save himself from increasing

[1] Illustrations of the reign of Queen Mary p. 30-31. Thomas Fisher to the Protector, Oct. 11, 1548. Some minute and interesting particulars of the war in Scotland, and the conduct of the French auxiliaries under D'Essé and De Thermes, will be found in the above valuable volume of original letters (the contribution of Mr. Kirkman Finlay to the Maitland Club). See also in the same Volume, p. 36. Letter from Sir Thomas Holcroft to the Lord Protector, Somerset, 24th July, 1549, pp. 36, 39. Also Same to Same, 25th Sept. 1549.

unpopularity by a voluntary demission of the regency. Her first step towards the prosecution of these views was to repair to the Court of France, her ostensible object being a visit to her daughter, her real purpose to obtain the advice and co-operation of the French monarch. In the month of September, Strozzi, Prior of Capua, brought a small squadron of French ships to anchor at Newhaven, and the Queen Mother embarked for France. She was accompanied by De Thermes, La Chapelle, and other French officers, and by some of the principal nobility of Scotland, amongst whom were the Earls of Huntly, Cassillis, Sutherland, and Marshall, the Lords Home, Fleming, and Maxwell, with the Prelates of Caithness and Galloway.[1] Landing at Dieppe (19 September, 1550,) they immediately proceeded to Rouen, where the court was then held, and were received with much distinction.[2] Amidst the festivities which welcomed her arrival,[3] Mary of Guise explained her graver schemes against Arran to the French Cabinet, and found them warmly encouraged by the Cardinal of Lorrain and the Duke of Guise. Nor did they find it difficult

[1] Lesly, p. 235. MS. Letter. State Paper Office. Privy Council of England to Sir John Mason, Ambas. in France, 11 Aug. 1550. Vol. of Sir John Mason's Corr. State Pap. Office, p. 82-3.

[2] Sir John Mason to the Privy Council. MS. Letter, 6th Oct. 1550. Same vol. p. 118.—State Pap. Off. Lesley, p. 236.

[3] Sir John Mason the English Ambass. describes her as almost worshipped as a Goddess. Sir John Mason, to Privy Council. State Pap. Office. Corr. p. 240. 23 Feb. 1550.

to bring over the French monarch to their opinion. They contended that on the success of such a plan depended the preservation of the French influence and of the Romish religion in Scotland. If the first failed, the other, they said, must inevitably decay; and it was to be feared, from the great progress already made by heresy in that country, that a reformation would be established in Scotland, similar to that which had taken place in its sister kingdom. On the contrary, if the pre eminence of French councils could be secured all would go well, and Ireland, which was universally ripe for insurrection, would throw off her allegiance, and needed but a token from France to be wholly at her devotion.[1] Nor was this last a vain boast. The archbishop of Armagh, a busy envoy of the papal government, who had been sent into that country with a commission to encourage a revolt against England, had arrived at the French Court soon after the Queen Dowager, and, after giving an encouraging description of the universal discontent which prevailed in that unhappy country, proceeded to Rome.[2]

[1] MS. Letter. Mason to the Privy Council. Corr. p. 129. 19th Oct. 1550. The talk of this Court amongst the baser sort is very large of our things. Especially since the arriving of the Scots * * * Ireland, they say, is theirs when the King shall give but a token.

[2] Sir John Mason to Privy Council. MS. Letter. 8th Feb. 1550-1. Corresp. p. 231. The Archbishop's name was Wauchop, who, although blind from his infancy, was a great diplomatist. See Lesly, p. 242.

Convinced by such arguments, Henry declared his satisfaction with the projects of the Queen Mother, and Panter, Bishop of Ross, the Scottish ambassador at the Court of France, with Sir Robert Carnegy and Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, repaired to Scotland for the purpose of breaking the affair to the Regent. This they did in an artful manner. They represented to him the dilapidation of the revenue and the crown-lands which had taken place during his government, the rigid reckoning to which he must be called when the young Queen came of age, and the impossibility of obtaining an honourable discharge, if he remained in his dangerous elevation. On the other hand, they held out the splendid bribe of the Dukedom of Chastelherault for himself, and an establishment at the French Court for his eldest son, if he agreed to resign the government; whilst they strengthened the party of the Queen Mother by liberal promises to the Scottish nobles.[1] It happened that at this moment the Governor was deprived of the counsels of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who then lay on what was supposed a death-bed. The influence of a talented and determined opponent was thus removed, and Arran left to himself gave a reluctant and conditional assent.[2] Having so far succeeded, Mary of Guise took leave

[1] Lesly. p. 237. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 884. Anderson, MS. History, vol. ii. p. 153. The Earl of Huntly was promised the Earldom of Murray, and his son who had married a daughter of the Governor was to be made Earl of Rothsay.

[2] Lesly, p. 238. Melvill's Memoirs, pp. 20, 21.

of her daughter, the Scottish Queen, and passed over from France to the Court of England, where she had an amicable interview with Edward the Sixth.[1] This was politic and judicious. It evinced her resolution to preserve pacific relations with this country, and formed part of that system of universal conciliation which for the present she had determined to maintain. Some time before this the Master of Erskine, and Sinclair, the president of the Session, had proceeded on an embassy to Flanders, where they concluded a peace with the Emperor,[2] and tranquillity being thus established abroad, the Queen on her return to Scotland devoted her undivided energy to the composition of all differences amongst the nobility, and the establishment of order and good government. In justice to Arran, the Regent, it ought to be stated, that during her absence in France he had exerted himself to accommodate those border differences which had ever been so fertile a cause of exasperation, and in a convention signed by commissioners of both kingdoms at Norham, some wise regulations were introduced for the determination of the boundaries, the tranquillity of the Debateable Land, and the security of the commercial intercourse between the two countries.[3]

[1] Anderson, MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 155.

[2] Sir John Mason, Corr. p. 204. State Pap. Off. MS. Letter. Sir John Mason to the Privy Council, 20th Jan. 1550-1. Anderson, MS. History vol. ii. p. 152.

[3] Maitland, vol. ii. p. 885. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 265. Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 485, 488, 489.

Nor was this all, two parliaments were held at Edinburgh, in the spring and the winter of the year 1551, in which, amid much of that rude and narrow legislation which marks the age, some salutary laws were introduced. A vain attempt was made to fix the prices of wine and of provisions, and repress the inordinate luxury of the table.[1] An enactment was passed against the sins affirmed to be scandalously common—of adultery, bigamy, blasphemous swearing, and indecent behaviour during public worship; and the press, which it is declared had teemed with lewd rhymes and ballads, with scandalous songs and tragedies, was subjected to the censorship of an ordinary, and restricted by a law, which compelled every printer to obtain a licence from the Queen and the Governor.[2]

Subsequently to this, Arran took his progress through the northern parts of the kingdom, holding justice courts in the principal towns, and proceeded afterwards, accompanied by the Queen Regent, to visit for the same purpose the western and southern districts of the realm. During the late war licentious disorders of all kinds had grown up amongst the lower classes, the restrictions of the laws were despised, the clergy forgetful of the sanctity of their

[1] No Archbishop, Bishop, or Earl, was permitted to have more than eight dishes of meat at his table; to the Abbot and Prior six were allowed, Barons and Freeholders were restricted to four, and wealthy Burgesses to three, with one kind of meat in each.

[2] Maitland, vol. ii. p. 886, 889. Acts of the Parliament of Scotland. vol. ii. pp. 483, 490, inclusive.

character had quarrelled regarding the disposal of many rich vacant benefices, their friends had fiercely espoused their claims, and the country presented one wide scene of civil broil and ecclesiastical commotion. To compose this rude state of things required a union of energy and address which might have been deemed beyond the abilities of Arran, but his exertions were seconded by the Queen Mother, who bent all her efforts to the task, and it says much for her talent, temper, and good sense, that the measures which she adopted, were successful. The clergy were satisfied, the nobles reconciled amongst themselves, the lower orders induced, rather than compelled, to respect the laws, and Mary of Guise, by her prudence, and popular manners, so firmly attached all orders to her party, that the Governor began to dread he would be universally deserted.[1]

This moment was artfully seized by her to remind Arran that it was now time for him to fulfil his promise, and resign the regency in her favour, but she met with an indignant refusal. He declared his resolution to retain the high office, which belonged to his rank as nearest heir to the Crown, insisted that no such overtures could be entertained till the young Queen had at least reached the age of twelve years, and so deeply resented the proposal, that he remained in Edinburgh with the few lords who still embraced his party,

[1] Lesly, p. 245.

whilst the Dowager held a brilliant court at Sterling.[1] He contended, and with truth, that since the peace with England he had devoted himself with unremitting assiduity to the duties of his office, to the assembling of the parliaments, the administration of justice, the improvement of the moral character of the people, the recovery of the country from the ravages committed during the war; and now, in return for all this, it was requested that he should at once descend from an almost royal rank, to the condition of a private subject, and lay down his authority at the mandate of a woman. These proud and resentful feelings, so opposite to the sentiments which he had expressed in 1551, were supposed to be instilled into the mind of Arran by his brother, the Primate of St. Andrew's, who had now recovered his health, and with[2] it his influence over the easy temper of his relative. A determined opposition was thus re-organized against the Queen Mother, the Archbishop represented to his brother the madness of retiring from the supreme power, when nothing stood between him and the Crown but the feeble life of a girl,[3] and nearly a year was spent in mutual crimination and intrigue.

The party of the Governor, however, at length became so insignificant, that the Primate was the

[1] Maitland, vol. ii. p. 891. Lesly, p. 245.

[2] By the means of the famous Cardan "who hung him certain days by the heels—and fed him with young whelps." MS. Letter St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 15 Jan. 1561-2.

[3] Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 21, 73. Lesly, p. 245.

only man of consequence left to him, and the Queen, confident in her strength, threatened to call a Parliament and exact an account of his administration of the royal revenue. She at the same time procured the young Queen her daughter to select as her guardians the King of France, with her uncles, the Cardinal Lorrain and the Duke of Guise. They again devolved their authority upon the Queen Dowager, and although Arran pleaded justly that the transaction was illegal, the young Mary being still in her minority, the objection was overruled, and he at last reluctantly consented to his abdication.

A Parliament accordingly assembled at Edinburgh, on the 12th of April, 1554, in which this solemn transaction was completed. The various instruments of agreement which had been entered into with Arran were first produced. They conferred on him the Dutchy of Chastelherault, and gave him an ample approval of the mode in which he had managed, and the purposes to which he had applied the revenue of the Crown. He was permitted to retain the Castle of Dumbarton till the Scottish Queen attained majority, and he was lastly declared the second person in the realm, and, failing the Queen, nearest heir to the Crown. To these contracts the spiritual and temporal peers having affixed their seals, the Duke of Chastelherault, in the presence of the estates of the realm, resigned the ensigns of his authority into the hands of the Queen Dowager; a commission by the Queen of Scotland

was then produced and read, which appointed her mother, Mary of Lorrain, Regent of her realm, and that Princess rising from her seat accepted the office, and received the homage and congratulations of the assembled nobility. She was then conducted in a public procession with great pomp and acclamation through the city to the palace of Holyrood, and immediately entered upon the administration of the government.[1] Meantime, in the midst of these transactions, the death of Edward the Sixth, (July 6th 1553,) had occasioned a great revolution in England. The accession of Mary, the restoration of the Romish faith, and the marriage between England and Spain, produced important effects upon Scotland, both in its internal state and its foreign policy, the consideration of which, however, belongs to a subsequent period of this history.

[1] Lesly, pp. 247, 249, 250. Anderson's MS. Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 158, 159, 162.

CHAPTER II.

1554 - 1561.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

England.	*France.*	*Spain.*	*Portugal.*	*Germany.*	*Popes.*
Mary. Elizabeth.	Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX.	Charles V. Philip II.	John III. Sebastian.	Ferdinand I Maximilian II.	Paul III. Julius III. Paul IV. Pius IV.

MARY of Guise, who now assumed the supreme authority, was in many respects well qualified for her high station. She possessed a calm judgment; good, though not brilliant natural parts; manners which, without losing their dignity, were feminine and engaging; and so intimate a knowledge of the character of the people over whom she ruled, that if left to herself, there was every prospect of her managing affairs with wisdom and success. Her abilities, indeed, were sufficiently apparent in the quiet and triumphant manner in which she had brought about the revolution which placed her at the head of affairs. Although of a different religion, she had so entirely gained the affections of the Protestant party, that their support was one chief cause of her success. Nor by the prudent concessions which she made to their opponents, had she alienated from

herself the hearts of the adherents of the Romish faith, whose leaders she attached to her interest by gifts of the vacant benefices, and the exertion of her influence at the papal court.[1] It was chiefly by her management that the fierce and sanguinary feuds which for a long period had distracted the Scottish aristocracy, were composed; and her assumption of the regency was viewed with equal satisfaction by the clergy, the nobility, and the people.

But the possession of power is a trying and dangerous thing to the best. She had incurred many obligations to the court of France, which her gratitude or her promises impelled her to repay, by intruding foreigners into the offices hitherto filled by natives; and, unmindful of the extraordinary jealousy with which the Scottish people were disposed to regard all interference of this kind, she lent herself to measures dictated more by the ambition of the house of Guise, than by a desire to promote the happiness of her daughter's kingdom.

Her first act went far to disgust the nobility and the people. Huntly, the chancellor,[2] although per-

[1] Lesly, pp. 241, 242. MS. Records of Privy Council, fol. 8, p. 2, in a State Paper, entitled "Answers to the most Christian King of France's Memorial," given to Thomas Master of Erskine, Ambassador to the Court of France.

[2] This powerful and able nobleman, who was the head of the Romish party in Scotland, had been taken prisoner in the battle of Pinky, by Ralph Vane (Anderson's MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 130 dorso), but made his escape in 1548, and on his return to Scotland was restored to his office of Chancellor. An interesting account of his escape will be found in Anderson's MS. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 130, 131.

mitted to retain the name, was superseded in all real power by Monsieur de Rubay, who obtained the place of vice-chancellor and possession of the great seal. Villemore was made comptroller, a place of high responsibility; and D'Osel, although placed in no office, became her confidential adviser in all matters of state.[1] These imprudent preferments excited a dissatisfaction, which, was indeed smothered for the time, but afterwards broke out with fatal force against the Regent.

In the mean time the kingdom became disturbed in the north, where the fierce and powerful sept of the clan Ranald, under their leader John Mudyard, resumed their career of misrule and spoliation. The general policy hitherto pursued in these districts, was that introduced by James the Fourth. It was the practice of this monarch to keep the various clans in subordination by encouraging their mutual rivalry, and employing them as checks upon each other. In the event of any sept rising into a dangerous pre-eminence, or, as was not unusual, into open rebellion, one of the most powerful northern nobles, as Athole, Huntly, or Argile, was entrusted with a commission of lieutenancy, and, on repairing to the disturbed districts with an armed force, they engaged some of the rival clans to assist in putting down the insurrection. There can be no doubt that such commissions, of which the powers were indefinite,

[1] Keith's Eccl. Hist. pp. 69, 70. Lesly, pp. 250, 251. Anderson's MS. Hist. vol. ii. page 174, dorso.

had been often abused to the purposes of individual ambition. The great lords looked for forfeitures of the lands of the highland chiefs, to reward themselves and their followers; and, on many occasions, rather encouraged treason than promoted submission. It was a consequence of this miserable system that these chiefs continued in rebellion, not so much from any unwillingness to acknowledge the authority of the government, as from a dread of the influence and misrepresentations of their enemies.

In 1552, when the Regent Arran and the Queen Dowager held their court at Inverness, John Mudyard, the leader of the clan Ranald, had treated with proud contempt their summons to appear before them; and although Argile afterwards promised to compel his attendance, or to expose him to the extremity of fire and sword, he appears to have eluded both the promise and the penalty. In 1554, he and his adherents once more bid defiance to the government; and Huntly, armed with a commission of lieutenancy, and leading an army chiefly composed of lowland barons, proceeded against him as far as Abertarff in Invernesshire. His attempt, however, was singularly unsuccessful; for when it became necessary to pursue the daring outlaw into his mountain fastnesses, his lowland leaders declined acting in a country unsuited for cavalry, whilst his highland auxiliaries reproached him for the execution of Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan,[1] and showed

[1] Lesly, p. 251, 252. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 893.

such marked symptoms of disaffection, that Huntly deemed it prudent to conclude his inglorious expedition, and return to court.

His enemies eagerly seized this opportunity to conspire his ruin. His conduct, they contended, amounted to treason; and they insisted that nothing but Huntly's confidence in his exorbitant power could have induced him to have acted with such flagrant contempt of the orders which he had received from his sovereign. To such accusations the Queen lent a willing ear. The Earl was cast into prison, stripped of his high offices, and sentenced to be banished for five years to France.[1] When we consider the services so lately performed by Huntly, in the revolution which gave Mary of Guise the regency, it is difficult to understand the causes of that sudden resentment to which he fell a victim. That he had abused the high powers entrusted to him, in the administration of the northern counties, is not improbable, and his imperious demeanour had perhaps provoked the resentment of the Queen's foreign advisers. One of these, Monsieur de Bontot, superseded him in his government of Orkney. De Rubay, we have already seen, in his character of vice-chancellor had monopolised all the powers of the great seal, which properly belonged to Huntly as chancellor; and although he still kept the name of this office, and, by the payment of a heavy fine, procured the remission of his sentence of banishment,

[1] Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Isles, p. 183-184.

he remained stripped of his strength, and confined to the solitude of his estates.[1]

Notwithstanding these occasional demonstrations of severity against her Scottish nobles, the exertions of the Queen Regent were for some years successfully devoted to the maintenance of peace, and the promotion of the real welfare of the kingdom. Commissioners from England and Scotland met and established tranquillity upon the borders. She received assurances from Mary of England of her anxious desire for the preservation of friendly feelings between the two countries, and in return expressed a hope that this princess would not only be a "peace-keeper, but a peace-maker," in promoting a reconciliation between the French monarch and the emperor.[2]

At home, a parliament assembled at Edinburgh (June 10, 1555), in which many wise and judicious laws were introduced for the abbreviation of legal processes, and the administration of equal justice throughout the country. Upon this subject, the Regent was principally guided by the sage counsels of Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow, a man of profound legal knowledge, and almost equal eminence as a scholar and a statesman.[3] It appears by one of these statutes, that the maintenance of French soldiers

[1] He was compelled to resign some lucrative gifts of lands, particularly the Earldoms of Mar and Murray.—Gregory's Hist. p. 184.

[2] St. P. Off., Mary to the Queen Regent, Jan. 12, 1553.—MS. Letter, Original Draft. Also, St. P. Office, MS. Letter. Lord Conyers to the Council. B.C. March 12, 1554–5.—Berwick.

[3] Life of Sir Thomas Craig, pp. 79, 80, 81.

within the realm, a subject which proved subsequently a fertile source of revolt, had even then occasioned discontent. Another evinces the growth of that spirit of reform which, perhaps too severely, proscribed such unruly personages as Robin Hood, Little John, the Queen of May, and the Abbot of Unreason; and prohibited those ancient games and festivals in which women, "singing about summer trees," (to adopt the poetic phraseology of the statute) disturbed the Queen and her lieges in their progress through the country.[1] From this statute, we may infer, that Mary of Guise was still disposed to favor the Protestant party to whose support she owed much of her success; and had she been permitted to follow the dictates of her own good sense, her administration would have continued popular. But, unfortunately, the war between France and England, and the influence which her brothers, the princes of the house of Guise, had acquired over her mind, compelled her about this time to the adoption of a measure, which occasioned amongst the minor barons and the great body of the people extreme jealousy and disgust. She purposed to take an inventory of every man's estate and substance, and to impose a tax for the support of a large body of troops, which should serve instead of the usual national force composed of the barons and their feudal retainers. The idea, which was none other than a scheme for a standing army, originated with the French and some of the highest

[1] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 500.

Scottish nobility; but it met with a stern and prompt opposition. Three hundred barons and gentlemen assembled in the abbey church of Holyrood, and despatched the Lairds of Wemyss and Calder with their remonstrances to the Regent. Their fathers, they said, had for many centuries defended their native country against every attack, with their faithful vassals and their good swords. It was the ancient custom of the realm—they held their lands by that tenure—and as they trusted they had not degenerated from their ancestry, they besought the Queen to use them as heretofore in that honourable service. Their monarch, they contended, was called King of Scots, with a special reference to his authority over the men, rather than over the substance of the country, and loath should they be, they declared, to entrust to any waged and mercenary soldiers, the protection of their wives, their children, and their hearths, when they were ready and able with their own hands to defend them at the peril of their lives. It evinced the good sense of the Queen Regent that she instantly desisted from the project, and acknowledged her error in having ever proposed it.[1]

This wise conduct was for some time followed by the triumph of pacific counsels in Scotland. The ablest amongst the clergy and the most influential of the nobility both Popish and Protestant, strongly advocated their adoption, and Commissioners having met, a treaty for the continuance of peace was con-

[1] Lesly, p. 255. Keith, p. 71. Herries' Memoirs, pp. 29, 30. Anderson's MS. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 181, 182.

cluded between the two nations,[1] but war having broken out between France and Spain, a sudden revolution appears to have taken place in the mind of the Queen Dowager; on the one part, she beheld the Spanish or imperial party in Italy, headed by Philip, and now, since his marriage with Mary, strengthened by the accession of England; on the other the Pope supported by the French King.[2] To the latter side the daughter of the house of Guise naturally leant, and Henry the Second, aware of the importance of procuring such a diversion, omitted no effort to induce the Regent to invade England. Encouraged by these symptoms of approaching hostilities the Scottish borderers who seldom waited for a declaration of war broke violently across the marches, cruelly ravaged the country in successive inroads,[3] and were only checked by a severe defeat, which Lord Hume received at Blackbrey, (10th Nov. 1557).[4] D'Oysel in the meantime, one of the Dowager's foreign advisers, and lately Ambassador from the French Court, raised a fort at Aymouth, near Berwick, anticipating a speedy visit from the English, who instantly

[1] Lesly, pp. 258, 259. MS. Letter. St. P. Office. 18th July, 1557. Earl of Westmoreland and the Bishop of Durham to Queen Mary.

[2] Lesly, Ibid.

[3] MS. Letter St. P. Office. B.C. Lord Wharton to the Council, 29th July, 1557.

[4] MS. St. P. Office. B.C. Orig. Minute. Names of the Gentlemen taken at the battle of Blackbrey, 10th Nov. 1557, since printed by Mr. Stevenson in his Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 70.

attacked him. This was all that was required; war was denounced, and the Queen Dowager having, assembled an army at Kelso, proposed an immediate invasion. She was met by a positive and mortifying refusal—Chastelherault, Huntly, Cassillis, and Argile declared that the national honour had been amply asserted by the border successes during the preceding months, they were ready, they said, to act on the defensive, but to plunge into war during the minority of their Sovereign, with the single object of assisting France, would be as injurious as it was uncalled for. All parties, except the Queen and the French auxiliaries, agreed in the wisdom of this conduct; but the Regent was deeply incensed—she attempted to precipitate hostilities by commanding the foreigners to attack Werk, and having failed in this last resource, dismissed the army with expressions of anger and disgust.[1]

It is from this moment that we may date that unhappy division between the Queen Regent and the Scottish nobles, which formed afterwards one of the principal causes of the war of the Reformation. At present, however, religious differences did not enter into the dispute. The great object of Mary of Guise was to bridle the power of Chastelherault, Argile, and Huntly, who had opposed the councils of France, and it is remarkable that at this moment James, Prior of St. Andrew's, styled by Lord Whar-

[1] MS. Letter St. P. Office, B.C. Lord Wharton to the Council, 13th Nov. 1557. Berwick. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 900. Lesly Hist. pp. 260, 261. Anderson's MS. Hist. p. 184, 185.

ton, "one of the wisest of the late King's base sons," and afterwards the Regent Murray, made his appearance in public life, as an adherent of the Dowager.[1] Sir William Kirkaldy, with young Maitland of Lethington, the Secretary, a man of great talents and ambition, espoused the same faction, and it was proposed to recal secretly into Scotland, the Earl of Lennox and the Lady Margaret Douglass, whose restoration to their former rank and power might prove an effectual counterpoise to the influence of their opponents.

Some unforeseen impediments, however, interrupted the execution of this scheme, and the Regent had recourse to a more effectual mode of strengthening her influence. A parliament assembled at Edinburgh (Dec. 14th 1557), in which a letter was presented from the King of France, earnestly recommending, that the intended marriage between the Dauphin and the young Queen of Scots should be carried into effect. He requested that Commissioners should be sent over to give the sanction of their presence to this solemnity, and in compliance with his wishes, Beton, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Reed, President of the Session, Cassillis, Lord High Treasurer, the Lords Fleming and Seton, with the Prior of St. Andrew's, and Erskine of Dun the leaders of the Protestant party, were chosen to execute this important mission. They were instructed not to consent

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Office, B.C. Lord Wharton to the Council, 13th Nov. 1557.

to the marriage till they had obtained from the Queen and the Dauphin a promise, in the most ample form, for the preservation of the integrity of the kingdom, and the observation of its ancient laws and liberties. The young Queen and her husband were to be required at the same time to grant a commission for a Regent, to whom the supreme power was to be delegated.

The Commissioners, after a perilous passage in which two of their convoy were wrecked, disembarked at Boulogne, and proceeding to the French court, received an honourable reception, and found a ready compliance with all their demands. Having secured, as they imagined, the rights of the kingdom, they proceeded to arrange the conditions of the marriage (19th April, 1558).[1] It was provided that the eldest son of the marriage should be King of France and Scotland; the Dauphin, by consent of the French King, his father, and the Queen his consort, was to bear the name and title of King of Scotland, to be allowed to quarter the arms of that crown with his own, and on his accession to the throne of France, to assume the title and arms of both kingdoms united under one crown. In the event of there being only daughters of the marriage, the eldest was to be Queen of Scotland, to have as a daughter of France, a portion of four hundred thousand crowns, and to be disposed of in marriage with the united consent of the estates of Scotland and the King of France. The join-

[1] Keith, Hist. pp. 72, 73. Ibid. Appendix, p. 13.

ture of the young Queen was fixed at six hundred thousand livres if her husband died after his accession to the throne; but if she became a widow when he was Dauphin, it was to be reduced to half that sum. Lastly, the Commissioners agreed, immediately after the marriage, to swear fealty to the Dauphin, in the name of the estates of Scotland, and on the ground that their sovereign, the Dauphiness, was his consort.[1] These preliminaries having been arranged, the marriage was solemnized at Paris by the Cardinal Bourbon, in the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame. It completed the almost despotic power of the House of Guise, and the powerful princes of this family who saw their niece, already a Queen, now promoted to the rank of Dauphiness, were solicitous to impart to the ceremony all imaginable splendour. The King and Queen of France, four Cardinals, the Princes of the Blood, and the flower of the French nobility surrounded the altar, and the classic genius of Buchanan hailed the event in an Epithalamium, which is one of the sweetest effusions of his muse.

Such were the outward forms which preceded and accompanied this important union, and in appearance the conduct of the French court was fair and honourable; but another, and a far different scene of Guisian treachery and ambition, had been acting within the recesses of the cabinet. Ten days previous to her marriage, three papers were presented to

[1] Keith, App. p. 21. "A cause de la dite Dame Reyne Dauphine nostre Souveraine, son Espouse et Compaigne." The meaning is, that they swear fealty to the Dauphin as the husband of their queen.

the young Queen. By the first, she made over her kingdom of Scotland, in free gift, to the King of France, if she died childless. By the second, drawn up to meet the very probable case of a resistance by the Scots to so extraordinary a transfer, she assigned to the same monarch the possession of her kingdom, till he should be reimbursed in the sum of a million pieces of eight, or any such greater sum as he should have expended upon her education in France, and by the last she was made to declare, that these two deeds contained the genuine sense of her mind, whatever might appear to the contrary in any declarations which she should publish, in compliance with the desire of her parliament.[1] These secret deeds the Guises induced their niece to sign—she was only fifteen, completely under their influence, and probably dreamt not of resistance, but when they brought the Scottish Commissioners before the French council, and required them not only to swear fealty to the King Dauphin, but to agree that he should receive the ensigns of royalty, they were met in this step of their ambition by a peremptory refusal: our instructions, said the Ambassadors, are distinct, and embrace no such matter, and even if free, it is little the part of faithful friends to name to us a proposal, which, if agreed to, would cover us with infamy.[2]

Disguising their resentment, the princes of the House of Guise, requested that the Commissioners would at least support their interests in the parlia-

[1] Keith, p. 74. [2] Maitland, p. 903.

ment, and the Scottish prelates and nobles set out on their return. On reaching Dieppe, Reid, the Bishop of Orkney, one of the wisest and most upright men in Scotland, died suddenly on the 6th of September, —after two days, he was followed to the grave by the Earl of Rothes; Cassillis, within a very brief interval, was seized with a similar illness, which carried him off, Fleming did not long survive him; and although no infectious disease was then prevalent in the country, several of their retinue sickened and expired. It was not surprising that men should connect these circumstances with the scenes lately acted at Paris, and there arose a suspicion that the Commissioners were poisoned by the Duke of Guise and his brothers, who thus determined to get rid of an influence which they knew would be exerted against them.[1] The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Prior of St. Andrew's, Lord Seton and the Laird of Dun, continuing their voyage, arrived in Scotland in October, and the Queen Regent immediately summoned a parliament, which assembled at Edinburgh, in the beginning of December.

Its proceedings were brief, but important. On receiving from the surviving Ambassadors an account of their mission, the three estates approved and ratified their transactions. It was agreed at the same time, that the crown matrimonial should be given to the Dauphin, that he should have the name of King of Scotland, during the continuance of the marriage;

[1] Keith, p. 75. MS. letter St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 10th Aug. 1590. Ibid. Ledington to Cecil, 15th Aug. 1560.

that all letters in Scotland should henceforth run in the style of "Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland, Dauphin and Dauphiness of Vienne," and that the great seal of the kingdom, and the current money of the realm should be changed.[1] During the progress of these negotiations, hostilities with England had continued, and the war between that country and France was carried on with signal success upon the side of the Duke of Guise, whose arms were crowned with the long coveted conquest of Calais. This triumph was soon after followed by the death of Mary of England, and the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, an event, which occasioned an immediate change in the councils of that kingdom, and produced consequences especially worthy of attention.

It is well known, that this great princess commenced her reign by the complete establishment of the Reformation in her own dominions, and by placing herself at the head of the Protestant party in Europe. Indifferent herself to religion, as far as it influences the individual character, she hated the Puritans, and was attached to the pomp and shew of prelacy: but her masculine understanding had early detected the errors of the Romish faith, her mind, naturally imperious, refused equally to acknowledge in man a spiritual or a temporal superior, and her discernment, aided by the counsels of the far-reaching Cecil, taught her that to continue faithful to the principles of the Reformation offered the best hopes for

[1] Leslie, p. 268; Keith p. 77.

the preservation of peace, the restoration of her exhausted finances, and the security of her kingdom. At home, two great principles regulated her government—a determination to avoid war, even at considerable sacrifices, and to enforce in every department of the state, a rigid economy. To all classes of her subjects, her accession to the throne was a joyful event; yet Elizabeth was aware that a large proportion of the people, far larger indeed than is commonly imagined, were still attached to the ancient faith, and she was naturally jealous of every thing that tended to increase the political power of the Romanists. Whilst she thus carefully watched the state of the two parties within her own dominions, she saw on the Continent the same struggle of opinion dividing the leading states into two great factions and by skilfully balancing them against each other, she contrived to keep them too much occupied at home, to be able to give her any serious annoyance. The loss of Calais, which for two centuries had been in the possession of England, and still more, the resolution on the part of the Guises to assert the title of their niece, the Queen of Scotland, to the English throne, in exclusion of Elizabeth, whom they pronounced illegitimate, were circumstances calculated to rouse the indignation of this princess: at a future period she clearly showed they had not been forgotten by her, but for the present, policy got the better of resentment, and after having declined a proposal, upon the part of the French Monarch to enter into a private and separate peace, she became a party to the

public treaty concluded between France and Spain, at Chateau Cambresis (25 May 1559).[1]

Her chief difficulties lay on the side of Scotland. In her instructions to the Bishop of Ely, Lord Wm. Howard, and Dr. Nicholas Wootton, whom she sent soon after her accession to negociate the treaty with France, we find her laying down the principle, that peace with Scotland is of greater consequence than peace with that country, and that unless the Scots are included, it were needless to continue the negotiations.[2]

Nor did the Queen Regent appear unwilling to meet these advances; she despatched her able secretary, Maitland, of Lethington, to assist at the conferences in France,[3] and at the same time that a pacification was concluded between England, France and Spain, (2nd April, 1559) a separate treaty for the cessation of hostilities was entered into between England and Scotland.[4] It was declared, that from this time a firm and lasting peace should be concluded be-

[1] MS. St. P. Off. Original oath signed by Elizabeth, to observe the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, State Paper Office. Sir J. Williamson's Collections, 1st. series, vol. xxx. p. 21, and attestation of the taking the oath, by Sir W. Cecil, Ibid. vol. xxxi. p. 55.

[2] MS. St. P. Off. Instructions to Lord Wm. Howard, Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely and Dr. Wootton, 28th Feb. 1558-9. Sir J. Williamson's Collection, first series, vol. xix. p. 433, in Cecil's handwriting, corrected by the Queen. See also Forbes' State Papers, vol. i. p. 59.

[3] MS. St. P. Off. Queen Dowager to Elisabeth, March 4th, 1558-9.

[4] Rymer Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 513. Ibid. p. 527. Also MS. instructions of Elizabeth to Lord Wm. Howard; Lord Howard of Effingham, Dr. Wootton, and Sir N. Throgmorton, 6th May, 1559,

tween the two countries, that to remove all ground of controversy, Aymouth, and the new fortifications raised by the King Dauphin and the Queen of Scots, should be destroyed, and that all castles or strengths lately built by the English on the borders, should be cast down. Some minor points were reserved for the determination of Commissioners, sent mutually by both kingdoms; and these envoys having met at Norham, (31st May 1559) the negotiations were brought to a successful termination.[1]

Elizabeth had thus apparently accomplished the object which she so much desired, yet she knew too well the internal state of France, and the seeds of division which had been planted in Scotland, to rely on the continuance of amicable relations—the strong footing which the French had already gained in that kingdom, the late marriage of the young Queen with the Dauphin, and the vast ambition of the House of Guise, rendered her anxious to adopt every method for the strengthening of the Protestant cause, and the dismissal of the French auxiliaries from the service of the Queen Dowager. But before we attempt to fathom her deep and somewhat unscrupulous policy for the attainment of these objects, it becomes necessary to look back for a moment that we may trace the progress of the Reformation in Scotland.

State Paper Office; Sir J. Williamson's Collection, vol. xix. p. 419; also Letter of Elizabeth to Mary of Guise, 30th May, 1559, State Paper Office.

[1] MSS. Treasurer's accounts in Register Office, Edinburgh, under March 3rd 1558-9, to William Maitland, of Lethington, passing to London and France in the Queen's Grace's affairs, 750*l*.

The history of this great and auspicious revolution in the history of the truth, is in Scotland connected almost exclusively with one extraordinary man—the intrepid and unbending Knox. When we last parted with him, it was after the surrender of the Castle of St. Andrew's, (1547) when he and other fellow-sufferers were carried prisoners aboard the gallies, into France. After a long and tedious captivity, he regained his liberty, (1550)—in what manner seems uncertain[1]—and having repaired to England during the minority of Edward the Sixth, he found himself cordially welcomed and supported by the ministers of that young sovereign. Here he willingly gave his powerful aid to Cranmer, in the establishment of that Reformation which had been left imperfect by Henry the Eighth, but the sudden death of the king, and the accession of Mary, compelled him to fly to the Continent. During his exile, he was called to be Minister of the English Refugees at Frankfort, but his attachment to the doctrines of Calvin, with whom he had formed an intimate friendship, made it impossible for him to adopt the principles of those who preferred the service book of Edward the Sixth, to the more simple and, as it appeared to Knox, the more scriptural form of Presbyterian worship, which at first, in compliance with their wishes, he had introduced amongst them; religious dissensions arose. Dr. Cox, who had been tutor to Edward, vehemently contended for the service book, his party became all powerful, and the Scottish

[1] Anderson's MS. History, vol. ii. p. 140.

Reformer driven from his pulpit, and accused by his opponents of treason against the Emperor, once more retreated into his native country, and took up his residence in the capital. Before leaving the Continent, he had again visited Calvin, at Geneva. The conversation of this celebrated man, then in the height of his reputation and usefulness, confirmed Knox in his affection to that form of worship which had been established at Geneva, his solitary reflections in exile, and under persecution had, as we learn from his eloquent and pathetic letters, assumed an extraordinary bitterness of self-reproach, they seemed to upbraid him as one who had fled from the fold, and deserted his flock when the spiritual conflict most required his presence, and he returned to Scotland in 1555 with the stern and honest resolution to "spare no arrows," to abide at his post, and to sacrifice everything for the complete establishment of the Reformation, according to those principles, which he believed to be founded on the word of God.

During his absence from his native country, the persecutions of Mary had driven some pious and able men to take refuge in Scotland: Harlow, originally a tradesman in the lower ranks of life, but afterwards a zealous preacher under Edward the Sixth, took up his abode in Ayrshire, and assembled around him a little congregation—John Willock, a Scottish Franciscan Friar, who had been converted from Popery, and afterwards admitted a chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, was another of these labourers. He had been

sent twice, in 1555 and 1558, on missions from the Duchess of Friesland, in whose dominions he had sought refuge, to the Queen Regent, and as his affability, moderation and address were equal to his learning and piety, he was received with distinction, and privately permitted to address his exhortations to all who were anxious for instruction.

The second arrival of Willock gave a great impulse to the cause of the Reformation; the images, says Knox, were stolen away, in all parts of the country, and in Edinburgh, that great idol called St. Giles was first drowned in the North Loch, and afterwards burnt, which raised no small trouble in the town. Notwithstanding this marked demonstration, it was resolved by the Queen Regent and the Bishops, that the usual procession which took place on the Saint's day should not be omitted, and having procured another image from the Grey Friars, and fixed it to a wooden barrow, which was borne on men's shoulders, the cavalcade, headed by the Regent herself, surrounded by Priests and Canons, and attended by tabors and trumpets, proceeded down the high street towards the cross—the sight inflamed the passions of the protestants, and various bands of the citizens abhorring such an abomination resolved upon revenge. Nor was it long before this was accomplished; for scarce had the Queen Dowager retired, when some of these, under pretence of assisting the bearers, caught hold of the barrow, cast down the idol, and dashing it to pieces on the pavement, left Dagon without a head or hands, and then (I use the

words of Knox) "the priests and friars fled faster than they did at Pinky-Cleuch; down goeth the crosses, off goeth the surplices, round caps and cornets with the crowns. The Grey Friars gaped, the Black Friars blew, the Priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first gat the house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of Antichrist, within this realm before."[1]

Yet although some progress had been made, and Knox hailed with gratitude the co-operation of Willock, it was with feelings of astonishment, bordering upon horror, that he found the friends of the Protestant opinions, unresolved upon the great question, whether it was their duty openly to separate from the Church. Many of them continued still to sanction by their presence the celebration of the mass, and as the Queen Dowager had found it necessary in the prosecution of her political objects, to extend her favor to the Protestants, they were anxious to stretch their conformity to the national Church, as far, perhaps even farther, than their consciences permitted. The discourses of the Reformer, who at first preached privately to a few friends, in the house of James Syme, a burgess of Edinburgh, soon threw a new light upon the danger and sinfulness of such conduct.[2] Men's consciences became seriously alarmed, a solemn disputation was held upon the point between Maitland, of Lethington, and Knox. The Secretary, a man of remarkable learning and

[1] Knox, p. 104.

[2] Knox, p. 98, 99. Keith, p. 64. M'Crie, vol. i. p. 176.

ingenuity, exerted his powers to defend the perilous practice which he and his brethren had adopted. But Knox, mighty in the Scriptures, honest and straightforward in his adherence to the truth, and master of that style of familiar and fervid eloquence, which was adapted to the age and the audience, triumphed over his more elegant and subtle disputant—Maitland acknowledged his error, the practice was renounced, and it was agreed by the congregation which now surrounded the Reformer, that a public and formal separation must henceforth be made from the Popish Church in Scotland.[1]

Amongst his hearers and followers at this time (1555), we find some men who became afterwards noted in the history of their country. Erskine of Dun, a baron of ancient family, whose learning was superior to the times; Sir James Sandilands, commonly called Lord St. John, a veteran in his adherence to the Reformation; Archibald Lord Lorn, afterwards Earl of Argile; the Master of Mar, the Lord James, afterwards Regent; the Earl of Glencairn, and the Earl Marshall were usually present at his sermons, and ardent admirers of his doctrine. At length the Romish clergy, hitherto unaccountably indifferent, roused themselves from their lethargy, and Knox was summoned to appear before an ecclesiastical convention in the capital.[2] He

[1] M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 177. Anderson's MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 173, 174. The disputation was held at a supper given by the Laird of Dun.

[2] Anderson's MS. History, p. 175.

repaired to Edinburgh, prepared to defend his principles, and to his astonishment found the diet deserted, and his pulpit surrounded, not by his accusers, but by crowds of affectionate and zealous disciples, to whom for a short season he was permitted to preach without interruption or disturbance. This liberty he probably owed to the toleration of the Queen Regent; but when, at the request of the Earl Marshall, he carried his boldness so far as to address to this daughter of the House of Guise a letter, in which he exhorted her not only to protect the reformed preachers, but to lend a favourable ear to their doctrine, he found his propositions received with derision and contempt. Receiving his letter from Glencairn, and glancing carelessly over it, the Dowager handed it to the Archbishop of Glasgow, asking him if his Lordship was solicitous to read a pasquil, a mode of proceeding which the Reformer treated afterwards with uncommon severity.[1]

At this critical period, when rejoicing in the success of his preaching, and congratulating himself that the time of the Church's deliverance was drawing nigh, Knox received an invitation to become pastor of the reformed congregation at Geneva, and the readiness with which he obeyed the summons is an inexplicable circumstance in his life. Although his labours had been singularly rewarded, the infant congregation which he had gathered round him still required his nurture and protection. During his last

[1] M'Crie's Life, vol. i. p. 188. [2] Keith, p. 65.

journey into Angus, the threatenings of the friars and bishops had increased, and the clouds of persecution were seen gathering around him. The state of the gospel at Geneva, on the contrary, was prosperous. He had before bitterly upbraided himself for deserting his appointed charge in the hour of peril, yet he now repeated the same conduct, left his native country, and settled with his family on the Continent. It was in vain to tell his followers, as he did, that if they continued in godliness, whenever they pleased they might command his return. They were continuing in the truth, as he has himself informed us, and they earnestly but unsuccessfully endeavoured to detain him. The rage, indeed, of his opponents was about to assume at this time a deadly aspect. They had delated him to the Queen as an enemy to magistrates, as well as a seducer of the people, and possibly by retiring he saved his life;[1] but judging with all charity, it must be admitted that whilst his writings at this season had all the impassioned zeal, his conduct betrayed some want of the ardent courage, of the martyr.

His retreat had an immediate and unfavourable effect on the progress of the Reformation. The bishops and the friars increased in boldness and violence. Knox, whose personal encounter they dreaded, now that his appearance was impossible, received a summons to stand his trial; condemnation

[1] Such is the opinion of his late excellent biographer Dr. M'Crie. Anderson's MS. Hist., vol. ii, p. 175, dorso.

followed, and he was burnt in effigy at the High Cross of the capital (1556). Previous to his departure, the Reformer exhorted his followers to continue their private meetings, which he said they ought to open and conclude with prayer, to read the Scriptures, and to listen to the word of exhortation from any experienced brother, provided his instructions were given with modesty and a desire to edify. Such directions they willingly obeyed, and secure in the countenance and protection of the Queen Mother, who at this time courted their assistance, they became less the objects of jealousy and persecution to their adversaries of the Romish faith. Nor were they long left without preachers. In the year succeeding the retirement of Knox, John Douglas, a converted Carmelite friar, who was chaplain to the Earl of Argile, not only addressed a private congregation, but spoke openly at the Court, against the superstitions of the times. Paul Methven, also, originally a tradesman, began to teach in Dundee, others exhorted the people in Angus and Merns, and the Romish clergy taking alarm so far succeeded in working upon the fears of the Regent, that she issued a proclamation summoning the preachers to answer for their conduct. This they prepared instantly to obey, but the gentlemen of the west of Scotland who formed the chief part of their congregations, resolved to accompany them to their trial, and many already had arrived in the capital, when the Queen, dreading a tumult, commanded all who had no express exemption, to repair for fifteen days to the Borders. Far from

submitting to an order of which they easily detected the object, the Barons surrounded the palace, obtained an audience, and in reply to the remonstrances of the Regent, thus addressed her :— "We know, Madam, that this is the device of the Bishops who now stand beside you. We avow to God it shall not go so. They oppress us and our poor tenants to feed themselves ; they trouble our ministers, and seek to undo them and us all. We will not suffer it any longer." This bold address was delivered by Chalmers of Catgirth, one of the Barons of the west, and it is said as he concluded it, his companions, who had hitherto been uncovered, with an air of defiance put on their steel caps. The Regent was intimidated, declared that she meant no violence against their teachers, revoked the proclamation, and promised to be herself the judge of the controversy.[1]

This success, and a period of tranquillity which succeeded to it, emboldened the leaders of the reform party, the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Lorn, son of the Earl of Argile; Erskine of Dun, and the Prior of St. Andrew's, afterwards the celebrated Regent Murray, to request the return of Knox to his native country. In a letter addressed to the Reformer, they informed him that the "faithful of his acquaintance were stedfast to the belief in which he had left them, that they thirsted for his presence, and were ready to jeopard their lives for the glory of God. Little

[1] Knox's Reformation, p. 103. Spottiswood, B. ii. p. 94. Keith, p. 65.

cruelty," they observed, "had been used against them; the influence of the Friars was decreasing, and they had good hopes that God would augment his flock."

Obeying this invitation, Knox resigned his charge at Geneva, and arriving at Dieppe, on his way to Scotland, was met there, to his grief and mortification, by letters which arrested his journey. They stated, that the zeal of the reformers had suddenly cooled; that many, contented with the toleration they enjoyed, preferred the security of worshipping God in private according to their conscience, to the peril attending a public reformation, and that the scheme which had given rise to their letter had been precipitately abandoned. It did not belong to the disposition or principles of the Reformer to bear this vacillating conduct in silence. He addressed to them an immediate and indignant remonstrance, urged upon them the sacred duty of accomplishing the great work which they had begun; assured them that although dangers and trials must be met with in its prosecution, their relinquishing it would not save them from the most tyrannical proscription, and concluded by reminding them, that so vitally important a matter as the reformation of religion belonged to them, the nobility, even more than to the clergy or chief rulers called kings.[1]

This epistle, which was accompanied by a detailed address to the nobles, and by private letters to Erskine of Dun, and Wishart of Pitarrow, two leading men amongst the reformers, produced an astonishing effect. The lords deplored their weak-

[1] Keith, pp. 65, 66.

ness, a new impulse was given to the cause—zeal and resolution animated their repentant followers, and on the 3rd of December, 1557, that memorable bond or Covenant was drawn up, which henceforth united the Protestants under one great association, which was subscribed immediately by their principal supporters, and could not be deserted without something like apostacy. It described in no mild or measured terms the bishops and ministers of the Romish Church, as members of Sathan, who sought to destroy the gospel of Christ and his followers, and declared that they felt it to be their duty to strive in their Master's cause even unto death —certain as they were of victory in him. For this purpose it declared that they had entered into a solemn promise in the presence of God and his Congregation, to set forward and establish with their whole power and substance his blessed Word—to labour to have faithful ministers—to defend them, at the peril of their lives and goods, against all tyranny; and it concluded by anathematizing their adversaries, and denouncing vengeance against all the superstition, idolatry, and abominations of the Papal church.[1] This bond, which was drawn up at Edinburgh, received the signatures of the Earls of Glencairn, Argile, Morton, Lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and many others. It was evidently an open declaration of war against the established religion—toleration and compromise were at an end, and their next step showed that the Congregation—for so the

[1] Keith, p. 66. Knox's Hist. p. 110.

reformers now named themselves—were determined to commence their proceedings in earnest. They passed a resolution declaring, "that in all parishes of the realm, the common prayer, (by which was meant the service book of Edward the Sixth,)[1] should be read weekly, on Sunday and other festival days, in the parish churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the book of common prayer; and that if the curates of parishes be qualified they shall be caused to read the same; "but if they refuse, then the most qualified in the parish were directed to supply their place. It was resolved at the same time, that "doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scripture be used privately in quiet houses, avoiding great conventions of the people thereto, until such time as God should move the Prince to grant public preaching by true and faithful ministers."[2]

These resolutions the Lords of the Congregation proceeded to put in execution in such places as were under their power. The Earl of Argile encouraged Douglas, his chaplain, to preach openly in his house; other barons imitated his example; a second invitation was addressed to Knox, (November, 1558) requesting his immediate presence amongst them, and a deep alarm seized the whole body of the Romish clergy. They represented, not unreasonably, the declarations of the Congregation, and their subsequent conduct, as acts bordering upon treason; the Romish faith, they said, was still the established

[1] This will be afterwards proved. [2] Keith, p. 66. Knox, p. 111.

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religion of the state, it enjoyed the sanction of the laws, and the protection of the sovereign, and it was now openly attacked, and attempted to be subverted by a private association of men, who, although no ways recognised by the constitution, had assumed the power of legislation. To what this might grow it was difficult to say, but it was impossible to view so bold a denunciation of the national religion without apprehension and dismay.[1]

These remonstrances were addressed to the Queen Regent at that critical season, when the marriage between her daughter and the Dauphin, although proposed in the Scottish Parliament, had not been fully agreed to. It was necessary for her to manage matters warily with the principal nobles, and she expressed a stedfast disinclination to all extreme measures against the Congregation. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's also, a prelate whose character partook nothing of cruelty, though his morals were loose and depraved, addressed an admonitory letter to Argile, persuading him to dismiss his heretical chaplain, promising to supply his place with a learned and Catholic instructor, complaining of the reproaches to which his ecclesiastical lenity had exposed him, and insinuating that repeated provocations might compel him, as the spiritual guardian of the Church, to adopt a severer course (March 1558). Nor was it long before this severity was experienced, although there seems good ground for believing that the prelate was innocent of having instigated it.

[1] Cook, vol. ii. p. 35. Spottiswood, p. 117.

Walter Miln, a parish priest of Lunan, in Angus, had early embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, and having been seized and condemned as a heretic in the time of Beaton, was so fortunate as to escape from prison and remain in concealment in his native country. Encouraged by the subsequent leniency of the Queen Dowager, this aged and venerable minister of the truth, who was past eighty, had openly preached to the people; but the severity of the clergy again compelled him to seek his lurking places, and being discovered at this time, he was tried for heresy at St. Andrew's, and condemned to be burnt. From his feeble frame and great age it was expected that he would say little in his defence, but the old man exhibited uncommon spirit, and so deeply moved were all who heard him by his pathetic appeal and ardent exposition of the truth, that after the clergy had pronounced him guilty, no secular judge could be found to pass sentence. The odious office, however, was at last performed by a dissolute retainer of the Archbishop, and he was led to the stake amid the tears and sympathy of an immense multitude, who execrated the cruelty of which he was the victim. Surrounded by the flames, he was yet able to testify that the cause for which he suffered was the defence of the truth of Jesus Christ. "As for myself," said he, "I am fourscore and two years old and cannot live long by the course of nature, but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones, and I trust in God I am the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for

this cause."[1] And his prophetic wishes were fulfilled: he *was* the last in that country of the army of martyrs (April, 1558.)

This cruel and iniquitous execution was viewed by the people with horror, and excited the utmost indignation in the leaders of the Congregation. They remonstrated in firm terms to the Queen Regent, and when this princess assured them that she was no party to such sanguinary proceedings, their whole animosity was directed against the clergy. Emissaries commissioned by the reformers travelled through the country, exposing the superstition, wickedness and injustice of such conduct; many of the lesser barons, and the greater part of the towns joined the party; a majority of the people declared themselves ready to support the cause, and the Protestant lords presented an address to the Dowager, in which they claimed redress at her hands "of the unjust tyranny used against them by those called the estate ecclesiastical."[2] "Your Grace," said they, "cannot be ignorant what controversy hath been and yet is, concerning the true religion and right worshipping of God, and how the clergy (as they will be termed) usurp to themselves such empire over the consciences of men, that whatsoever they command must be obeyed, and whatsoever they forbid avoided, without respect to God's pleasure revealed in his

[1] M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 234. Knox, 30. Spottiswood, 95.

[2] Keith, p. 78.

word, or else there abideth nothing for us but faggot, fire, and sword." They then noticed the cruel executions of their brethren, and declared that, although at the time they had neither defended these martyrs nor demanded a redress of their wrongs, they were now convinced that as "a part of that power which God had established in the realm, it was their duty either to have protected their brethren from such extremity, or to have borne along with them open testimony to their faith. It was evident" they said, "that abuses had now grown to such a head that a public reformation was necessary, as well in religion as in the temporal government of the state, and they therefore implored her Grace and her grave council, whom they willingly acknowledged as the only authority placed in the realm for the correction of ecclesiastical and civil disorders, that she would listen to their requests, unless by God's word it could be shown that they were unjust and ought to be denied.[1]" The following requests were appended to the supplication; they were drawn up with force and clearness, and involved, if granted, a complete reformation. It was required, first, that the Congregation should be allowed to meet in public or in private, to hear common prayers in the vulgar tongue, that they might increase in knowledge, and be led with all fervour and sincerity to offer up their petitions for the Universal Church, the Queen, their sovereign, and her royal consort, the Regent, and the whole estates of the realm. Secondly, That it should

[1] Keith, pp. 78, 79. Knox, Hist. p. 127.

be lawful for any one present who was well qualified in knowledge to interpret any obscure passages in the Scriptures which should be read. Thirdly, That baptism and the Lord's Supper should be administered in the vulgar tongue, and this last sacrament in both kinds according to our Saviour's institution, and lastly, that the present wicked and scandalous lives of the clergy should be reformed, in obedience to the rules contained in the New Testament, the writings of the Fathers, and the godly laws of the Emperor Justinian—which three standards they were willing should decide the controversy between them and the Romish clergy.[1]

These proposals, and the supplication which introduced them, although expressed with apparent moderation, could not be viewed without alarm by the Queen Dowager. The Lords of the Congregation acknowledged her indeed as the sole constituted authority within the realm, yet with some inconsistency they not only represented themselves as part of that power which God had established, but declared it to have been pusillanimous in them not to have actively interfered in defence of their brethren, against the tyranny by which they had been oppressed. As Barons of Parliament, they were certainly part of the established power in the realm; but to have defended their oppressed brethren by any faction or assembly out of Parliament, would have been unconstitutional and illegal. Again, when in their first petition they asked permission, to use the common

[1] Spottiswood, B. 3, p. 119. Keith, p. 80. Knox, p. 129.

prayers in the vulgar tongue, we know, by certain evidence, that the service book of King Edward was here meant; but when they required that any person sufficiently learned should be allowed in their meetings to interpret obscure passages, it is evident that they demanded a liberty unknown to the most zealous Presbyterians of the present day.

However unpalatable such requests might be, it did not suit the views of Mary of Guise to give them a decided refusal. The marriage between her daughter and the Dauphin had indeed been concluded, but at this moment she required all the influence of the Protestant Lords in Parliament to obtain the crown matrimonial, and the title of King for the Dauphin. When, therefore, the petition was presented to her at Holyrood House, by Sir James Sandilands, the venerable preceptor of the Knights of St. John, she received it with respect, promised them that their proposals should have her anxious consideration, and in the meantime assured them of her protection.[1]

Very different were the effects produced by this conduct on the Romish clergy and the Lords of the Congregation. Grateful for her forbearance, and relying upon her promises, the Protestants abstained from all public exercise of their religion, and silenced one of their ministers who attempted to preach at Leith. But the Papal party arraigned the pusillanimity of the Regent in condescending to tempo-

[1] Knox's History pp. 126, . 30. M'Crie's Knox, p. 236. vol. i. Keith, p. 80.

rize with heretics, and in a convention which was held at Edinburgh soon after, loaded Erskine of Dun, who supported the claims of the Congregation, with mingled threats and reproaches.[1]

Yet, after further consideration, they made some advances towards a compromise. The terms, however, were such as the Protestants could not accept. It was insisted that the mass, purgatory, prayers to saints and for the dead, should remain parts of the established creed of the Church, which if they granted, the reformers were to be allowed to pray and baptize in the vulgar tongue, provided these innovations were confined to their private assemblies.[2]

In the Parliament which assembled at Edinburgh, in December, 1558—when, as we have already seen, the three estates received from the Ambassadors who had returned from France, an account of their proceedings—the leaders of the Congregation presented a supplication, to which they annexed some important requests, in their own name and that of their brethren. They desired that all Acts of Parliament by which churchmen were empowered to proceed against heretics should be suspended until the present controversies in religion were determined by a general council of the Church, and that in the meantime churchmen should be permitted only to accuse, but not to judge—lest, however, this should seem to countenance licentiousness of opinion on sacred subjects, it was requested that all such as were

[1] Keith p. 80. [2] Knox, pp. 129, 130.

accused of heresy should be carried before a temporal judge, should be permitted to speak in their defence, to state objections to witnesses, and to explain their own belief, nor ought they, it was added, to be condemned, unless proved by the word of God to have erred from that faith which is necessary to salvation.[1] On presenting these articles to the Regent, she exerted all her influence to avert their immediate discussion in Parliament. This, she contended, would be followed by exasperation on the part of the clergy, which might be fatal to the attainment of those great political objects for which she and the Protestant lords were alike anxious. "Let, them," she said, "but wait for a brief season, and all their wishes might be accomplished; but at present it was evident, that such a debate as was likely to follow their introduction would be dangerous and premature."

Convinced by such a representation, or at least anxious to avoid all appearance of obstinacy or precipitation, the Lords withdrew their Articles, and contented themselves with presenting a protestation, which was read in Parliament. In this solemn instrument, they alluded to the controversy which had of late years arisen between those called Prelates and rulers in the Church, and the nobles and commons of the realm, regarding the worship of God, the duty of ministers, and the right administration of the sacraments; they had already repeatedly complained, they said, that their consciences were bur-

[1] Keith, p. 81.

dened with unprofitable ceremonies, and many idolatrous abuses, and it was their intention to have sought in this present Parliament the redress of such enormities. This resolution the troubles of the time had compelled them for a season to delay. Yet, fearful lest their silence should be misinterpreted, they now protested, that since they could not at present obtain a just reformation, it should be lawful for them to use themselves in matters of religion and conscience as they must answer to God, and in the true faith which is grounded upon Holy Scripture—and this without incurring any danger of life and lands, for the neglect or contravening of such Acts as had been passed in favour of their adversaries. In conclusion, they declared, that no blame ought to attach to them if any tumult or uproar should arise among the subjects of the realm on account of diversity of religion, or if it happened that those abuses which had been so long neglected, should at last be summarily or violently reformed.[1] It is obvious, from the terms of this eloquent paper, that the Congregation felt their own strength, and did not shut their eyes to those calamitous results, in which a continuance of religious persecution might possibly involve the country. They were anxious for a quiet and temperate reform of those unprofitable ceremonies which loaded their conscience, and it was their wish to see removed, without any public violence, the deep and

[1] Spottiswood, pp. 120, 121. Knox, pp. 133, 134.

general profligacy which degraded the hierarchy; but it is also evident, that they foresaw the probability of resistance, and were prepared to meet it; nor were they to be terrified into a renunciation of their faith, by the prospect of any sufferings which awaited themselves or their country. They had prepared themselves for the worst—and it was fortunate they had done so, for at this crisis the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, and the alteration in the policy of the Guises, produced a sudden revolution in the mind of the Queen Regent.

This princess, to resume the course of our history,[1] was now possessed of the great objects to which all her efforts had been so long directed. She had obtained the supreme power, her daughter, the Queen, was married to the Dauphin, and the title of King of Scotland, and the crown matrimonial, had been solemnly conferred upon him by the Scottish Parliament. For the attainment of these objects, she had been greatly indebted to the assistance of the Protestant leaders. But she was also under obligations to France, especially to her brothers, the princes of the House of Guise, and these ambitious and unscrupulous men now claimed as a return, that she should join that league for the destruction of the Protestants, and the re-establishment of the Catholic faith in Europe, to which they had become parties with the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Emperor. As one part of their vast and unprincipled design, it was necessary to put down the Reformation in

[1] See Supra, p. 86.

Scotland, and to secure the French ascendancy in that country; and having accomplished this, they trusted it would be no difficult matter to expel Elizabeth from the throne, to place the crown on the head of Mary, the young Queen of Scotland, whom they had already induced to assume the title of Queen of England, and under her to unite the two kingdoms in the profession of the ancient faith.

These designs, and her expected co-operation in them, were communicated to the Queen Regent, by Monsieur de Bettancourt, who arrived in Scotland on a mission from the King of France, soon after the conclusion of the peace of Cambray.[1] The disposition of Mary of Guise was inclined to moderate measures, and being attached to some of the leaders of the Protestants, to whose abilities and friendship she had been indebted, it was not without emotion and regret that she received the proposals of France. But she had been educated in the Romish faith, and in a profligate court, her brothers, the Cardinal and the Duke, had acquired an extraordinary influence over her mind, the great body of the Papal clergy in Scotland urged upon her the necessity of adopting decided measures to check the rapid growth of heresy, and after a feeble and unsuccessful remonstrance to the Court of France, she abandoned her better resolutions, and resigned herself to the entire direction of the Guises.

This fatal change in the policy of the Queen Regent was followed by an immediate collision between

[1] Maitland, vol. ii. pp. 909, 910. Carte, vol. iii. p. 378. Melvil's Memoirs, pp. 77, 78. Bannat. Ed.

the Protestant and the Romish parties in a convention of the clergy which assembled at Edinburgh, (March, 1559); the Lords of the Congregation presented a petition, in which, in addition to their former demands, they now insisted that bishops should be elected with consent of the gentlemen of the Diocese, and parish priests by the votes of the parishioners. To these they not only received a decided refusal, but the Synod, contrary to the spirit of improvement and conciliation exhibited in the preceding year, declared that no language, except the Latin, could be used in the public prayers of the Church, without violating its express decrees, and offering offence to the majesty of God—nor was this all. The Queen, with a rigour for which it is difficult to account, issued a proclamation for conformity of religion; all were commanded to resort daily to mass, and confession; in an interview with some of the Protestant leaders, she exhibited to them the injunctions she had received from France, warned them of the peril in which they stood, and summoned the most distinguished among the reformed ministers to appear before a Parliament, to be held at Stirling, and defend themselves from the accusations which were to be brought against them.[1]

Alarmed by these rash and unwise proceedings, the Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, requested an audience, in which they delivered a stong remonstrance. But when they besought

[1] Spottiswood, p. 120. Knox, p. 134, Keith, p. 82, 83.

her not to molest their preachers, unless their doctrine could be proved to be repugnant to the word of God, she broke into expressions of reproach and anger, declaring that their ministers should be banished, though they preached as soundly as St. Paul.[1] Glencairn and Campbell calmly reminded her of the promises of toleration, which she had made them. "Promises," she replied, "ought not to be urged upon princes, unless they can conveniently fulfil them." So flagrant a doctrine was received by the Scottish Lords with merited indignation ; to offer arguments against it would have been ridiculous, but they did not shrink from their duty. "If, Madam," said they, " you are resolved to keep no faith with your subjects, we will renounce our allegiance, and it will be for your Grace to consider the calamities which such a state of things must entail upon the country."[2]

The boldness of this language, produced a return to calmer reason, and she appeared willing to avert the storm, but at this moment the reformed opinions were publicly embraced by the town of Perth, and the Queen, in great disturbance, commanded Lord Ruthven, the Provost, to suppress the alleged heresy. His reply was, that he could bring the bodies of his citizens to her Grace, and compel them to prostrate themselves before her, till she was fully satiate of

[1] Keith, p. 82. Spottiswood, p. 121.

[2] Ibid. Calderwood's MS. History, vol. i. p. 310. British Museum. Ayscough's Cat. No. 4734.

their blood—but over their consciences she had no power." She upbraided him for his "malapert" reply; commanded Dundee, Montrose, and all other places which had abjured the ancient faith, to be ready to receive the sacrament of the mass at Easter, and again summoned the preachers to appear at Stirling, to answer for their conduct, upon the 10th of May.[1]

It was at this critical season that the adherents of the Reformation received an important accession of strength, by the arrival of Knox in Scotland (May 3d. 1559.) The remonstrances which he had transmitted to the Lords of the Congregation from Dieppe, had produced the most favourable effects; and in obedience to the second invitation, addressed to him in the month of Nov. 1558, he now came to take his part with Willock, Douglas, and others, faithful preachers, who, during his absence, had laboured, at the peril of their lives, for the establishment of the truth. He found the cause of the Congregation in a condition very different from that in which he had left it at the period of his retreat from Scotland in 1557. Then the seed had indeed been sown, and in some places began to spring up; but the Romish party were predominant, and "matters had not yet ripened for a general reformation."[2] Now, the Protestant faith was espoused by large masses of the people, professed by the most powerful of the nobles, and in the event of attack

[1] MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 311.
[2] M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i.p. 192.

it could look with some confidence to the countenance and support of England. But it acquired a wonderful accession of strength in the return of this bold, uncompromising, and eloquent adherent, who, without delaying in the capital, repaired directly to Dundee. Here, when he learnt the proceedings against the ministers, he earnestly required that he might be permitted to assist his brethren, and to make confession of his faith along with them, a request which we may believe was readily granted.

It was now resolved by the leaders of the Congregation, that they would accompany their preachers to Stirling, and the principal barons of Angus and Mearns took their journey for this purpose to Perth. They wore no armour, but declared, that they came as peaceable men, and solely to make confession of their faith, and to assist their ministers in their just defence.[1] Lest their numbers might create alarm, Erskine, of Dun, a grave and prudent man, eminent for his early adherence to the truth, leaving his brethren in Perth, went forward to Stirling, and requested an interview with the Queen. On this occasion the Regent acted with much dissimulation; she listened with apparent moderation, and when the envoy assured her that the single wishes of the Congregation were, to be permitted to worship God according to their conscience, and to secure liberty to their preachers, she declared, that if the people would disperse, the preachers should be

[1] MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 311.

unmolested, the summons discharged, and new proceedings taken, which should remove all ground of complaint. Relying upon this promise, Erskine wrote to his brethren, who were at Perth; their leaders sent home the people, and it was expected that peace and toleration would be restored. But with the removal of the danger, the Regent thought it politic to forget her promises, and, with a precipitation which was as treacherous as it was short-sighted, the summons was continued; the ministers who did not appear were denounced rebels, and every person prohibited, under the penalty of high-treason, from receiving or supporting them.[1] Enraged at such perfidy, the Laird of Dun withdrew indignantly from court, rejoined his brethren, who were still at Perth, excused himself for having too much trusted a princess, who, he was now convinced, was resolved upon their destruction, and warned them to prepare for those extreme measures which were meditated against them. His representations made the deepest impression, and Knox seized the moment to deliver to the people a sermon against Idolatry, with all that fervid and impassioned eloquence, for which he was so remarkable. He described how odious this crime appeared in the sight of God, what positive commands had been given in Scripture for the destruction of its monuments, and concluded by a denunciation of the mass, as one of the most abominable forms in which it

[1] Ibid. p. 311; Keith, pp. 83, 84.

had ever appeared to ensnare and degrade the human mind.[1]

It is by no means clear that the preacher, or the leaders of the Congregation who supported him, entertained at this moment any intention of exhorting the multitude to open violence; on the contrary, the Congregation after the conclusion of the sermon quietly dispersed, and a few loiterers, or, to use Knox's expressions, "certain godly men" alone remained in the church. Scarce, however, had the preacher retired, when a priest, with a spirit either of mistaken zeal or of ill-timed defiance, unveiled a rich shrine which stood above one of the altars, and disclosing the images of the Virgin and the Saints prepared to celebrate mass. A youth, who had listened to Knox's exhortations, exclaimed that this was intolerable. He appealed to those who stood by, and conjured them not to permit that idolatry which God had condemned to be used in their despite and before their face.[1] The priest, indignant at the interruption, struck him, and he retaliated by casting a stone at the altar, which broke one of the images. In an instant all was uproar and confusion, those who till now had been only spectators, and whose minds from the recent eloquence of Knox were highly excited, broke in upon the shrine, tore down its ornaments, shivered it to pieces, and, being joined by others whom the noise had attracted, demolished every monument or relic which they imagined to savour of idolatry, in

[1] MS. Calderwood, p. 313, vol. i. [2] Ibid.

an incredibly short space of time. (May 11, 1559.) The confusion now increased, and they who had inflicted this summary vengeance being joined by the "rascal multitude," as Knox denominates them, rushed with headlong fury to the religious houses of the Grey and Black Friars. They seem to have found them deserted—no defence at least was made—and in a few hours these magnificent edifices were spoiled of their wealth, and their altars, confessionals, and every ancient and hallowed relic which adorned them torn down and defaced. The same fate was experienced by the Charter House or Carthusian monastery, a building of extraordinary strength and magnificence, of which within two days nothing was to be seen but the bare and melancholy walls. The first invasion or impulse appears to have been solely against "idolatry," but although the preachers had been careful to warn their hearers not to put their hands to a reformation for covetousness sake, the people, stimulated by the extraordinary wealth and luxury of the Grey Friars, began to spoil. No honest man, however, says Knox, was enriched to the value of a groat, and the plunder was permitted to the poor. The probability seems to be, that the poor took the liberty of helping themselves.[1] Nor was this ebullition of popular fury confined to Perth; the infection spread to Couper, a small town which had embraced the

[1] Printed Calderwood, p. 7. Spottiswood, 121, 122. Knox, p. 136.

Protestant faith, and here similar excesses, though on a smaller scale, took place.

It was with feelings of deep resentment that the Queen Dowager heard of these violent and illegal proceedings. She lamented especially the destruction of the monastery of Carthusians, a royal foundation, and honoured by her as holding the ashes of James the First. In the first paroxysm of her anger she vowed vengeance against all who were connected with the disturbance, and declared her resolution to rase the town of Perth to the ground, and sow it with salt, as a monument of perpetual desolation.[1] These were not meant to be empty threats. She instantly summoned to her defence the Duke of Chastelherault, with Athole, and D'Osell the French commander; she remonstrated with those leaders amongst the Congregation, who, though attached to the doctrines of the Reformation, were inimical to the excesses which had been committed; two of these, the Earl of Argile and the Lord James, disclaiming all intentions of affording encouragement to rebellion, joined her with their forces, and on the 18th of May she advanced towards Perth, where the Protestants had begun to collect their strength. Soon after they drew up three letters in justification of their proceedings. In the first, which was addressed to the Queen Regent, they informed this princess, that, although they had till now served her with willing hearts, they should be

[1] Knox, 187. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 322, 323.

constrained, if she continued her unjust persecution, to take the sword of just defence. They were ready, they added, to obey their Sovereign and her husband under the single condition that they might live in peace, and have the word of Jesus Christ truly preached, and his sacraments rightly administered. Without this they were determined never to be subject to mortal men. They declared that they were about to notify what they had done to their Sovereign and the King of France, and they conjured her, in the name of God, and as she valued the peace of the realm, not to invade them till they had received their answer.[1] The second letter of the Congregation, which was a more elaborate defence, was directed to the Nobility of Scotland. They knew, they said, that the nobles were divided in opinion. Some regarded them as a faction of heretics and seditious men who troubled the Commonwealth, and against whom no punishment could be too severe; others were persuaded of the justice of their cause, nay, had for sometime openly professed it, and after having exhorted them to the enterprise had deserted them in their extreme necessity. To the first they alleged, that none could prove such offences against them, all that they had done being in obedience to God, who had commanded idolatry and its monuments to be cast down and destroyed. "Our earnest and long request," they continued "hath been and is, that in open assembly it may be disputed, in presence of indifferent auditors, whether these abominations, named

[1] Keith, p. 86. 22 May, 1559.

by the pestilent papists Religion, which they by fire and sword defend, be the true Religion of Jesus Christ or not. Now, this humble request being denied us, our lives are sought in a most cruel manner, and ye the nobility whose duty it is to defend innocents and to bridle the fury and rage of wicked men, were it of Princes or Emperors, do notwithstanding follow their a petites, and arm yourselves against your brethren and natural countrymen. If ye think that we be criminal because we dissent from you in opinion, consider, we beseech you, that the prophets under the law, the apostles of Christ Jesus, after his ascension, the primitive church and holy martyrs did disagree with the whole world in their days; and will ye deny that their action was just, and that all those who persecuted them were murderers before God? May not the like be true this day? What assurance have ye this day of your Religion, which the world that day had not of theirs? Ye have a multitude that agree with you, and so had they—ye have antiquity of time, and that they lacked not—ye have councils, laws, and men of reputation that have established all things as ye suppose; but none of all these can make any religion acceptable to God, which only dependeth upon his own will revealed to man in his most sacred word. Is it not then a wonder that ye sleep in so deadly a security in the matter of your own salvation?" To the second class, those of the nobles who had first espoused their cause, and now deserted it, they directed an indignant remonstrance "Unless," said they, "ye again join yourselves to us,

we declare that as of God ye are reputed traitors, so shall ye be excommunicated from our society, and from all participation with us in the administration of the sacraments; the glory of this victory which God will give to his church, yea, even in the eyes of men, shall not appertain to you; but the fearful judgment which apprehended Ananias and his wife Sapphira, shall apprehend you and your posterity.[1]" The spirit and contents of the third letter of the Congregation may be divined from its extraordinary superscription. It was directed, "to the generation of Anti-Christ, the pestilent Prelates, and their shavelings within Scotland." It contained a tremendous anathema against those who in their blind fury had caused the blood of martyrs to be shed, it warned them, that if they proceeded in their cruelty, they should be made the subjects of a war of extermination such as Israel carried on with the Canaanites; it arrogated to themselves the appellation of the congregation of Christ; it stigmatized their opponents as the offspring of the man of sin, and concluded, by uniting, in a manner which none can read without sorrow, expressions of extremest vengeance and wrath, with the holy name of God, and the gospel of peace and love, which was preached by his Son.[2]

It was not to be expected that such violent measures should be attended with pacific effects; the army of the Protestants was inferior to their opponents, and the Queen Regent, confident of victory,

[1] Knox, pp. 139, 140, 141. [2] Keith, p. 87.

had disdainfully rejected all proposals of negotiation when the arrival of Glencairn in the camp of the Congregation, at the head of two thousand five hundred men, induced her to hesitate. By the mediation of the Earl of Argile and the Lord James a cessation of hostilities was agreed on. Both armies consented to disperse—the town was to be left open to the Queen Regent. No person was to be troubled or brought to answer for the late changes in religion, and abolishing of idolatry; the religion begun was to be suffered to go forward; no Frenchman was to approach within three miles of the town; when the Queen retired no French garrison was to be left within it; and in the mean time all controversies were to be reserved till the meeting of Parliament.[1]

This treaty having been concluded, Willock, who had arrived with Glencairn, and Knox, who had remained at Perth since the demolition of the monasteries, sought an interview with Argile and the Lord James, and upbraided them with their desertion of the brethren. They repelled the accusation with warmth, declared their steady attachment to the cause, but said that they had promised the Queen, to labour for peace, and that the terms which she had offered were too reasonable to be refused. If, however, she proved false to her word, they called God to witness, that they would assist and concur with their brethren in

[1] These conditions of the capitulation are in the express words of Knox, p. 146, and Spottiswood, p. 122. Hume contends that the articles of capitulation were not violated, but, as it appears to me, on very insufficient grounds.

all time to come.[1] Satisfied with this explanation, Knox ascended the pulpit. It was right, he observed before they left the scene of their labours, that all men should be exhorted to constancy and thankfulness. It had pleased God to stay the rage of the enemy without the effusion of blood; but he added, with that discernment into human motives and character with which he was eminently gifted, that he was well assured the Queen meant no truth, "that it became no brother to be weary or faint, since he was certain the treaty would only be kept till the Regent and her Frenchmen became the strongest."[2]

Profiting by these warnings, the Lords of the Congregation before they separated framed a new bond or Covenant, in which it was agreed "to unite together" in doing all things required of God in his Scripture that might be to his glory, and to put away all things that dishonoured his name, and hindered his pure and true worship. They solemnly obliged themselves to defend the Congregation or any of its members when trouble was intended against them, and they promised in the presence of God to spare neither labour, life, nor substance, in maintaining the liberty of the whole brethren, against whatever person should trouble them for the cause of religion or any other cause thereon depending. This agreement was signed by the Earls of Argile and Glencairn, the Lord James, Lord Boyd, Lord Ochil-

[1] Knox, p. 146. [2] Ibid. p. 150.

deeper insight than hitherto into the unprincipled schemes of France. In the efforts of the Queen to put down the Reformation, they believed that they saw a determination to overthrow the liberties of the country, and there can be little doubt, that whilst this feeling added strength to those whose predominating motive was the establishment of what they believed the truth, it induced others to join them, who under other circumstances would have remained quiet spectators of the struggle.

The zealous spirit and popular eloquence of Knox now found daily employment, and was followed by violent effects. After a sermon at Crail, a small sea-town in Fife, in which he exhorted his hearers to die like men, or to live and be victorious in the great struggle in which they were engaged, the multitude demolished the altars and images in the church, and the same scenes were repeated after an equally stirring address at Anstruther, another sea-port not far distant.

But his greatest effort was reserved for St. Andrew's, the seat of the Metropolitan of Scotland, and the scene which was associated in the mind of the Reformer with his earliest labours and sufferings. The leaders of the Congregation, however, became apprehensive of the consequences which in this centre of Romish pomp might follow a public address. The Archbishop hearing that his cathedral was to be reformed, entered the town on Saturday evening with a hundred spears. He sent Colville of Cleish to inform Knox, that on his first appearance in the pulpit, he should be saluted

with a dozen culverins,[1] and the Reformer was earnestly requested to be silent. But no persuasions of his friends, no threats of his enemies could shake his resolution. He ascended the pulpit, chose as the subject of his sermon that portion of Scripture which describes our Saviour driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and delivered an address in his usual strain of familiar and indignant eloquence. Whatever may have been his sentiments or those of the leaders of the Congregation as to the first excesses of the people, it was now evident that Knox, in a spirit of erroneous and misdirected zeal, no longer doubted that it was their duty, as professors of the truth, to put down by actual violence the idolatry which he condemned; to hazard all the evils of civil war and popular commotion, rather than suffer the alleged abominations of the Romish Church and the tyranny of the French faction to pollute the faith and endanger the liberty of the country. Animated by this feeling, he drew a parallel between the abuses of the Jewish worship and the corruptions of Popery; he explained to the magistrates and to the commonalty that it was their duty to imitate Christ's example, and remove all monuments of idolatry, and so ready were they to follow his instructions, that the congregation sallied from the sermon to the monasteries of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, and, encouraged by their chief magistrates, levelled these proud and wealthy edifices with the ground.[2]

[1] MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 325. Knox's Hist. p. 149.

[2] Keith, p. 91. M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 269.

In the midst of this destruction the Archbishop flew to the Queen, who lay with her Frenchmen at Falkland. Inflamed by his account of the riot, the Regent gave instant orders to advance upon St. Andrew's; and as Argile and the Lord James were but slenderly accompanied, she trusted to assemble an army and crush them before they could receive assistance. But here she was mistaken. On the first knowledge of their danger, men flocked in so rapidly that, to use Knox's phrase, "they seemed to rain from the clouds,"[1] and when the Regent mustered her army, it was found that the Congregation, who had encamped on Couper Moor, greatly outnumbered her. It was evident, too, that there were experienced officers amongst them. Their ordnance was judiciously placed, and the ground occupied by their horse and their infantry chosen with considerable military skill. Fearful of attacking them with an inferior force, the Queen again entered into a negotiation, and a truce of eight days was agreed on. It was stipulated that no Frenchman should remain within the boundaries of Fife, except the garrisons which previous to the raising of the last army lay in some of the coast towns; and that certain noblemen, appointed by the Queen and Council, should meet the leaders of the Protestants to decide on the best method for the restoration of peace to the country.

It was soon seen, however, that the single object of the Queen was to procure delay: no commissioners

[1] Knox, pp. 151, 152. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 327.

arrived at St. Andrew's, where the Lords of the Congregation for some days anxiously expected them. Accounts were brought in the mean time of the tyranny exercised by Charters, the Provost, and the garrison in Perth; and the Protestants, pitying the condition of their brethren who had been driven from their houses to subsist on the charity of their friends, determined to assemble in force and expel the foreign troops from this city. Late events had taught them their own strength; habits of discipline, watchfulness, and active communication had been introduced by that sense of mutual danger which is the best instructor; and Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, a soldier of great military experience and undaunted determination, had joined their party at this conjuncture. His accession was of much importance to the Congregation, and appears to have been the result rather of a wish to rescue his native country from becoming an appanage of France, than of a determination to overthrow the Romish faith. As early at least as March 1st, 1557, he had expressed himself with the utmost indignation against the yoke of the Frenchmen, and had offered his services to restore Scotland to its former liberty, and to promote an amity with England.[1]

Intimation had been sent to the brethren (so the Congregation were generally termed by their minis-

[1] Sir N. Wotton to Lord Paget, Privy Seal, and Sir William Petre, Principal Secretary; MS. Letter, 1st March, 1556-7, St. P. Off. French Correspondence, MS. St. P. Off., Sir William Kirkaldy to Sir William Cecil, 23rd June, 1559.

ters) to assemble in the vicinity of Perth, on the 24th of June, and so strongly did they muster on the day appointed, that a summons was instantly given to the town, charging the garrison to abandon it, and commanding the Provost to open the gates, and leave it free to the subjects of the realm. On his refusal, and after a vain attempt by the Regent to procure delay, the batteries were opened by Lord Ruthven on the west, and the citizens of Dundee who lay on the east quarter. It was evident, after the first discharge, that resistance would be vain, and the garrison, having stipulated that they should march out with military honours, delivered the town to the Congregation, on Saturday the 25th of June.[1]

This success, owing to the strength and importance of Perth, at that time one of the few fortified towns in Scotland, was highly encouraging to the Protestants. On the Sabbath which succeeded the capitulation, public thanksgiving was returned to God for their victory; England, it was hoped, would espouse their cause more openly, and Knox, whose work against female sovereigns, or as he termed it, the "Monstrous Regiment" of women, had made him odious to Elizabeth, addressed a remarkable letter to Secretary Cecil, in which he endeavoured to deprecate her resentment. He intended to have inclosed at the same time an epistle to the Queen herself, but this he delayed, owing to the sudden departure of the messenger. "I understand," said he, in that honest and

[1] MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 330, State P. Off., Sir William Kirkaldy to Sir H. Percy, 25th June, 1559.

undaunted style of writing, which was unacceptable to the courtly taste of the English Secretary, "I am become so odious to the Queen's grace, and to her Council, that the mention of my name is unpleasing in their ears, but yet I will not cease to offer myself, requiring you, in God's name, to present to the Queen's grace this my letter, smelling nothing of flattery, and therefore, I hope it shall be the more acceptable. Why, that either her Grace, either that the faithful in her realm, should repute me as an enemy, I know no just cause. One thing I know, that England by me this day hath received no hurt, yea, it hath received by the power of God working in me, that benefit which yet to none in England is known, neither yet list I to boast of the same; only this will I say, that when England and the usurped authority thereof was enemy to me, yet was I friend to it, and the fruit of my friendship saved the borders in their greatest necessities. My eyes have long looked to a perpetual concord betwixt these two realms, the occasion whereof is most present, if you shall move your hearts unfeignedly to seek the same. For humility of Christ Jesus crucified, now begun here to be practised, may join together the hearts of those whom Satan, by pride, hath long dissevered: For the furtherance hereof I would have licence to repair towards you. God move your heart rightly to consider the estate of both the realms, which stand in greater danger than many do espy. The common bruit, I doubt not, carrieth unto you the troubles that be lately here risen for the controversy in religion,

The truth is, that many of the nobility, the most part of barons and gentlemen, with many towns and one city, have put to their hands to remove idolatry and the monuments of the same. The Reformation is somewhat violent, because the adversaries be stubborn; none that professeth Christ Jesus with us usurpeth anything against the authorities, neither yet intendeth to usurp, unless strangers be brought in to subdue and bring in bondage the liberties of this poor country; if any such thing be espied, I am uncertain what shall follow."[1]

The Lords of the Congregation were now to discover, that it is infinitely more easy to excite, than to direct or to check the fury of the people. In the immediate vicinity of Perth, was the ancient Abbey Church of Scone, regarded with peculiar reverence, as the spot in which for many centuries the Scottish monarchs had held the ceremony of their coronation. Beside it stood the palace of the Bishop of Moray, a prelate of profligate life, and hated by the men of Dundee, as a chief instrument in the martyrdom of Walter Mill. It was thought proper, therefore, that some "order" should be taken with him, and a message was sent by the leaders of the Congregation, requiring him to join them with his servants, otherwise they would neither spare nor save his abbey. He consented to this, and added, that not only would he meet them with all his force, but vote with them

[1] MS. Letter, State P. Off., 28th June, 1559. St. Johnston, John Knox to Secretary Cecil.

against the clergy in Parliament. But before this answer arrived, the citizens of Dundee had seized their weapons, and rushed forward to the abbey, followed by Knox and their chief magistrate, who in vain attempted to restrain them. It was the earnest wish of the Reformer and of the leaders of the Protestants, to save both the palace and the abbey, and in this they at first so far succeeded, that nothing but the images were pulled down; Argile and Murray then drew off the multitude, and receiving intelligence in the evening that the Queen Regent meditated to garrison Stirling, and pre-occupy the passes of the Forth, so as to prevent a junction between the northern reformers and their lowland brethren, these two leaders made a rapid night march, took possession of the town, and, according to the expression then commonly used, purged it of idolatry. Their absence was fatal to Scone: some of the poor, in hope of spoil, and others with a lingering wish of vengeance, returned on the morrow and began to prowl about the abbey—the Prelate in the interval had barricaded his mansion, his servants had armed themselves, and a citizen of Dundee approaching near the "Girnel" or granary, was thrust through with a rapier by one, reported to be a son of the Prelate. In a moment all was tumult, the air rung with shouts and cries of vengeance—the story flew to Perth—a multitude which no power could control attacked the ecclesiastical palace and the abbey—and within a few hours, both were in flames:[1] many, even

[1] MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 331.

of the most zealous of the brethren lamented this destruction, and Knox appears personally to have exerted himself to prevent it; but an aged matron who stood by, viewed the scene with exultation and thankfulness; "Now" said she, "I see that God's judgments are just, and none can save where he will punish; since ever I can remember aught, this place hath been nothing else than a den of profligates, where these filthy beasts, the friars, have acted in darkness every sort of sin, and specially that most wicked man the bishop; if all knew what I know, they would see matter for gratitude, but none of offence."[1]

Although Argile and the Lord James mustered only a small force at Stirling, the greater part of the army of the Congregation having returned to their homes, such was the terror inspired by the rapidity and decision of their movements, that on their advance to Linlithgow, the Queen Regent and the French forces evacuated the capital and retreated to Dunbar. The intelligence of this movement gave fresh spirits to the reformers, and having taken possession of Linlithgow, pulled down the images and destroyed the relics, they entered Edinburgh in triumph on the 29th of June 1559.

[1] MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 331. Keith, p. 93.

CHAP. III.

1559 - 1561.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

England.	*France.*	*Spain.*	*Portugal.*	*Germany.*	*Popes.*
Elizabeth.	Francis II. Charles IX.	Philip II.	Sebastian.	Ferdinand I	Paul IV. Pius IV.

THE occupation of the capital by the army of the Congregation, was an event of great importance. It convinced the Queen Regent that all hope of avoiding a civil war was at an end, unless she was prepared to agree to a total alteration of the established religion, —it was equally decisive on the minds of the reformers. In the eye of the law, they had gone too far in resistance to dream of retreat, and considerations of safety urged them to press forward in the work which they had begun. It becomes an interesting inquiry at this moment, what was the exact object which they proposed to themselves, and fortunately we have their own evidence upon the subject. In an original letter from Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the ablest leaders of the Protestants, written to Sir Henry Percy the day after they entered Edinburgh, he thus speaks, "I received your

letter this last of June, perceiving thereby the doubt and suspicion you stand in for the coming forward of the Congregation, whom I assure you, you need not to have in suspicion, for they mean nothing but reformation of religion, which shortly throughout the realm they will bring to pass, for the Queen and Monsieur D'Osell, with all the Frenchmen, for refuge are retired to Dunbar. The foresaid Congregation came this last of June, by three of the clock to Edinburgh, where they will take order for the maintenance of the true religion and resisting of the King of France, if he sends any force against them.* * The manner of their proceeding in reformation, is this: they pull down all manner of Friaries, and some Abbeys, which willingly receive not the Reformation. As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them—in place thereof, the Book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches. They have never as yet meddled with a pennyworth of that which pertains to the Church, but presently they will take order throughout all the parts where they dwell, that all the fruits of the abbeys and other churches shall be kept and bestowed upon the faithful ministers, until such time as a further order be taken. Some suppose the Queen, seeing no other remedy, will follow their desires, which is a general reformation throughout the whole realm, conform to the pure word of God, and the Frenchmen to be sent away. If her Grace will do so, they will obey her, and serve her, and annex the

whole revenues of the abbeys to the Crown; if her Grace will not be content with this, they are determined to hear of no agreement."[1]

At the same time that Kirkaldy directed this letter to Percy, with the object of explaining their real intentions, and quieting his fears regarding any hostile designs upon England, Knox addressed the English knight in the name of the whole Congregation. He intreated, that through them a correspondence might be opened betwixt the faithful in both realms. "The troubles of this realm," says he, "you hear, but the cause to many is not known. Persuade yourself, and assure others, that we mean neither sedition neither yet rebellion against any just and lawful authority, but only the advancement of Christ's religion, and the liberty of this poor realm. If we can have the one with the other, it will fare better with England; which if we lack, although we mourn and smart, England will not escape without worse trouble."[2] Soon after this Kirkaldy had a private meeting with Percy at Norham. The interview took place with the concurrence and under the directions of Cecil, and the Scottish Baron having explained more fully the intentions of the Protestants, returned to them with the grateful intelligence that England was disposed to favour their views, and to enter into a league with

[1] MS. Letter, State P. Off., Sir William Kirkaldy to Sir Henry Percy, backed by Cecil. Edinburgh, 1st July, 1559. Also, Cecil to Throgmorton—Forbes, vol. i. p. 155, and Lingard, vol. vii. p. 311.

[2] MS. Letter, State P. Off. Knox to Sir Henry Percy, Edinburgh, 1st July, 1559.

them, for the attainment of their designs. The news was received with much exultation, and Grange, in a letter addressed to the English secretary, declares that "all Europe shall know that a league made in the name of God hath another foundation and assurance, than pactions made by man for worldly commodity."[1]

There is every reason to believe that these letters contain an honest statement of the views of the Congregation. The establishment of the reformed religion in opposition to the Romish faith, the expulsion of the French troops from Scotland, and the conclusion of a league, offensive and defensive, with Elizabeth, were the great objects which they proposed to themselves. Nor, although they had agreed and acted upon the necessity of pulling down all religious houses which adhered to the ancient faith, were they as deeply inimical to prelacy at this moment as they became not long after. They used the Service-book of King Edward the Sixth,[2] an extraordinary circumstance when we consider the violent opposition raised by Knox against this same form of Liturgy, only a few years before, at Frankfort. Their hands were clean from any appropriation of ecclesiastical property, and on condition that the Regent gave her consent to a

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Office. Sir William Kirkaldy to Cecil. Edin. 17th July, 1559. Also, St. P. Off. Knox to Cecil, 12th July, 1559. Edin.

[2] This important fact, which is now set at rest, has been much disputed, and some able writers have come to a contrary conclusion.

general reformation, they were ready to annex the whole of the abbey lands to the Crown, to be employed in the support of the faithful ministers of the Church. Their great fear was the arrival of a new army from France; they knew the warlike levies which in that country were preparing against them; they dreaded the desertion of some amongst themselves, whose poverty exposed them to corruption;[1] and they were so well aware of the extreme caution and parsimony which marked the policy of Elizabeth, that they could not look with much confidence to her assistance, either in men or money.

Still they did not despair. The people were in their favour, the most powerful amongst the barons had espoused their cause, and Cecil's politics, though timid, were decidedly opposed to the establishment of anything like a permanent French influence in Scotland.

The Congregation, however, had a formidable enemy in the Queen Regent. Could she but temporise and procure delay, she reckoned with confidence on the arrival of a large auxiliary force from France, and former experience had shown, that against this the irregular feudal infantry which the Scottish barons brought into the field, was unable to contend for any length of time. She spread reports that her adversaries contemplated not only an alteration of the established religion, but a more daring change: that their great leader, the Lord

[1] MS. Letter, S. P. Off. Sir William Kirkaldy to Cecil, 17th July, 1559. Edin.

James, aspired to the Crown, and that under pretence of religious reformation, they sought to overturn the existing government.[1] A proclamation to this effect was made in the name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland:—It arraigned the Protestants of sedition—accused them of having seized the irons of the Mint, and of maintaining a correspondence with England—and commanded all, under pain of treason, to depart from the capital, which they had violently entered. It declared at the same time, that the Regent had already offered to call a parliament, in which, by the advice of the estates of the realm, a universal order in religion should be established, and in the meantime had given a full liberty of conscience to her subjects.

These representations produced a considerable effect. The Duke of Chastelherault fell off from the Congregation—others grew lukewarm in the cause, and the leaders trembled for the overthrow of their party. In a letter to the Queen they repudiated with indignation the charge of rebellion—declared they would, in civil matters, conduct themselves as obedient subjects, and professed their sole object to be the promotion of God's glory, the defence of their preachers, and the destruction of idolatry.[2]

An attempt was soon after made to compose matters by negotiation, and Commissioners from both sides met at Preston in Midlothian, but the Regent insisted not only that she should have the free exer-

[1] Keith, p. 95. [2] Ibid. p. 95.

cise of her mass, but that wherever she came, the Protestant preachers should be silent. To the last condition, which they justly contended would leave them without a church at all, it was impossible for the Lords of the Congregation to agree; yet fearful of coming to extremities, they prolonged the conferences, and evinced an earnest desire for peace. This, however, did not prevent them from sending a letter to Queen Elizabeth, and at the same moment a more impassioned epistle to Cecil. This crafty Minister had comforted them by promises of assistance, should they be invaded by any foreign power, and had requested them to explain fully the purposes for which they had taken arms. "Our whole purpose," say they in reply, "is, as knoweth God, to advance the glory of Christ Jesus, and the true preaching of his Evangile within this realm—to remove superstition and all sorts of external idolatry—to bridle to our power the fury of those that have cruelly shed the blood of our brethren, and to our uttermost to maintain the liberty of this our country from the tyranny and thraldom of strangers."[1] The Minister of Elizabeth, however, had pressed them upon a delicate point—the allegation of the Queen Regent that they intended not only a change of religion but of government. Their reply is remarkable. "True it is," they observe, "that as yet we have made no mention

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. in the handwriting of Knox, signed by Argile, Glencairn, the Lord James, Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree. Edin. 19th July, 1559. Addressed to Sir William Cecil.

of any change in authority, neither yet hath any such thing entered in our hearts, except that extreme necessity compel us thereto. But perceiving that France, the Queen Regent here, together with her priests and Frenchmen, pretend nothing else but the suppressing of Christ's Evangile, the maintenance of idolatry, the ruin of us, and the utter subversion of this poor realm, we are fully purposed to seek the next remedy—to withstand their tyranny, in which matter we unfeignedly require your faithful counsel and furtherance at the Queen and Council's hands, for our assistance."[1] Along with these letters, Knox addressed an apologetic epistle to Elizabeth, in which he declared that her displeasure conceived against him was a burden so grievous and intolerable, that, but for the testimony of a clean conscience, he would have sunk in desperation.

It did not suit the policy of Cecil, in the uncertain state of the contest between the reformers and the Romish party, to grant them immediate assistance, still less did he wish to see them put down, and peace established; and with this object of delay he directed a remarkable letter to the Congregation, in which he incited them to continue the struggle, and to weaken their principal enemies, the Popish clergy, by despoiling them of their riches. "Ye know," said he, "your chief adversaries, the Popish kirkmen, be noted wise in their generation, they be rich also,

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., in the handwriting of Knox, signed by Argile, Glencairn, the Lord James, Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree. Edin. 19th July, 1559. Addressed to Sir William Cecil.

whereby they make many friends, by their wit with false persuasions, by their riches with corruption. As long as they feel no sharpness, they be bold; but if they be once touched with fear, they be the greatest cowards. In our first reformation here in King Henry the Eighth his time, although in some points there was oversight for the help of the ministry and the poor; yet if the prelacy had been left in their pomp and wealth, the victory had been theirs. I like no spoil, but I allow to have good things put to good uses, as to the enriching of the Crown, the help to the youth and the nobility, the maintenance of ministry in the Church, of learning in schools, and to relieve the poor members of Christ, being in body and limbs impotent. * * But ye may say there is now no season to write of this. The present time requireth defence of yourselves. True it is—and this that I mentioned not impertinent thereto, and to me the more marvel,—that ye omit also such opportunity to help yourselves. Will ye hear of a strange army coming by seas to invade you, and seek help against the same, and yet permit your adversaries, whom ye may expel, to keep the landing and strength for others? Which of these two is easiest, to weaken one neighbour first, or three afterwards? * * What will be the end, when these be the beginnings? Will they favour you in Scotland, that burn their own daily in France? What may the Duke's Grace there look for, when his eldest son was so persecuted, as to save his life he was forced to flee France, and go to Geneva, not without great difficulty; his se-

cond brother, the Lord David, now cruelly imprisoned by Mons. Chevigny, one chosen out to show cruelty to your nation; divers Scots of the Earl's family put to torture, and finally all the Duchy of Chastelherault seised to the crown. And to show you their purposed tragedy, the young Queen so sweareth, so voweth, so threateneth, to destroy all the house of Hamiltons, as it is beyond all marvel to see your old Regent there so enchant the Duke's ears, as to hear nothing hereof. God open his heart according to his knowledge." In the end, Cecil assured them, that although the peace so lately concluded with France made it a matter of difficulty to decide how they were to be assisted, yet that Elizabeth could not but favour their purposes, and would neither neglect them nor see them quail.[1]

Before this letter could arrive, conceived in too general terms to afford them any great encouragement, the Regent, animated by the accounts she received of the daily desertions in the army of her opponents, advanced from Dunbar towards Edinburgh; the Lords of the Congregation found themselves too weak to defend the capital, and a truce was concluded between the two parties till the 10th of January. The reformers agreed to evacuate the town, deliver up the Mint, obey the Regent, and

[1] MS. St. P. Off. Original Draft in Cecil's handwriting, much erased and interlineated.—Backed "Copy of my Letter to the Earls of Argile, Glencairn, Prior of St. Andrew's, Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, 28th July, 1559. See also Knox's History, pp. 225, 226, 227, 228.

abstain from all molestation of churchmen, or destruction of religious houses. The Regent, for her part, permitted to the citizens of Edinburgh the free choice of their religion, gave full liberty of speech to the preachers, and promised that no persons should be molested, either in their persons or estate, on account of their faith. It was lastly stipulated, that no men-of-war, either French or Scots, should be placed in garrison within the town.[1]

Such were the conditions agreed on and signed by the Duke, the Earl of Huntly, and D'Osell, to whom the negotiation was entrusted by both parties. It is asserted, however, by Knox,[2] that these were not the articles to which the brethren consented, and before leaving the town they issued a proclamation, in which they craftily omitted every thing which would have been prejudicial to their own party, and added some conditions not to be found in the written appointment.[3]

On neither side was this convention expected to lead to any permanent pacification. The Regent was now in daily hopes of having speedy succour from France. Her representations of the state of Scotland had produced a strong sensation in that country; and Sir James Melvil, who had been brought up from early youth in the service of the constable Montmorency, was sent from Paris on a secret mis-

[1] Keith, p. 99. [2] Knox 166.

[3] Keith, p. 99. Knox, p. 156. And MS. Proclamation, St. P. Off. backed by Cecil, 25th July. Proclamation of the Congregation.

sion into that country, to examine the state of parties, and ascertain whether the accusation of the Regent, that the Lord James aimed at the crown had any foundation in fact. Melvil was, probably, from his connexion with the constable, predisposed to favour the cause of the Congregation, and the manner in which he executed his commission argues either extreme simplicity, or a predetermination not to seek the truth. On his arrival repairing to the Lord James he interrogated him whether he meditated any designs against the throne; and being assured by this able leader that nothing could be farther from his intention; his desire, and that of his associates, being only to obtain liberty of conscience, the ambassador returned through England into France perfectly satisfied upon the subject.[1] That Murray at this moment encouraged any such daring project may be doubted, but certainly he was not likely to criminate himself upon so serious an accusation.

The death of Henry the Second of France took place during this mission, and on his return to France Melvil found the Guises triumphant, and nothing but threats of war and vengeance against the party of the Congregation in Scotland. Nor could this change of views remain for any time a secret in that country, or in the Court of Elizabeth. The Protestant faction in France kept up an intimate and constant

[1] Melvil's Memoirs. Bannat. Edin., pp. 81, 82. Melvil arrived when the army was arrayed in order of battle on Cowper Moor. This was on the 12th of June, 1559. See Keith, p. 91.

correspondence with their brethren in Scotland. Cecil, by his secret agents, was fully informed of the intrigues of the French Cabinet, and both were prepared to watch and to resist, when necessary, the meditated designs, not only against the reformed opinions, but against England itself. Previous to their leaving the capital, in conformity to the late convention, the brethren proclaimed by sound of trumpet the conditions which they had accepted, and added, that if any of these should be violated, the leaders of the party would assist their friends as they had already done, with their whole power, and zealously contend for the glory of God, and the relief and defence of every member of the true Congregation[1] (25th July, 1559).

From Edinburgh, the chiefs of the Protestants retired to Stirling, where, dreading the craft of their adversaries, who had endeavoured to sow jealousies amongst them, they entered into a new bond (August 1st, 1559), by which they engaged that none of them should receive any message from the Regent, without imparting it to the rest, and holding a consultation on the proposals it conveyed.[2] From the same city Knox was despatched to Berwick, where he had a secret interview with Sir James Crofts, the governor. It appears from the original instructions committed to this indefatigable

[1] MS. St. P. Off. Proclamation of the Congregation, Edin. 25th July, 1559. It is backed by Cecil in his own handwriting, dated 31st July, 1559.

[2] Keith, pp. 100, 101.

Minister, that his mission was almost warlike. He proposed to seize and garrison Stirling, provided the English would send money for the payment of the troops, describing it as "the key and principal place" which might separate the northern part of the kingdom from the south. He represented that some assistance by sea would be required for the safety of Dundee and Perth, and suggested the fortification of Broughty Craig, to which work the barons in its neighbourhood, who were zealous for the Reformation, would give every assistance. He pointed out the necessity of the fort of Aymouth being seized by England, to prevent its occupation by the French, and he required the Queen's Majesty to influence the Kers, Homes, and other borderers, in favour of the reformers. Under the term "comfortable support," which the Congregation looked for from Elizabeth, he explained, that not only soldiers must be sent, and men and ships be ready to assist them if assaulted, but "that some respect must be had to some of the nobility, who were not able to sustain such households as now, in the beginning of these troubles were requisite,—the practice of the Queen Regent being to stir up enemies against every nobleman, even in the parts where he remaineth." In plainer terms, the Scottish nobility who had joined the cause of the Congregation, were anxious, like their predecessors under Henry the Eighth, to receive pensions from England. On such conditions, the reformers, he declared, were ready to enter into a strict and solemn league with Elizabeth, to bind

themselves to be enemies to enemies, and friends to friends, and never to agree with France without the consent of that princess; he lastly observed, that although the league was as yet only proposed to the Privy Council of Scotland, so anxiously was it desired by the whole barons, that they accused the Council of negligence for having so long delayed it.[1]

In this mission, Knox, who was accompanied by Alexander Whitelaw, a zealous adherent of the party, incurred considerable personal risk, their little convoy having been furiously attacked by the French garrison of Dunbar. He returned however, to Stirling in safety, but mortified by the cold and dilatory policy of Elizabeth, who, whilst she avoided giving them immediate assistance, did not scruple to throw suspicion upon their motives, and to act with an inconsistency and mystery, which put them at fault. She addressed a letter to the Queen Dowager, full of the most earnest wishes for the preservation of peace between the two countries; yet she accused the leaders of the Congregation of lukewarmness and inactivity in not rising against her authority, expressing her astonishment that they had not more vigo-

[1] MS. Instructions, St. P. Off. 31 July 1559. These Articles and Instructions appear to be a copy from the original left by Knox with Sir James Crofts, to be shown to Sir Henry Percy, whom he had no time to see; and to Cecil, to whom he thought it superfluous to write, having, as he says, opened the whole case to Sir J. Crofts. They have never been printed, and throw much light upon a period which, in Knox's own history, former historians have found perplexed and obscure.

rously exerted themselves for the great objects they had in view. It was her desire, as far as we can discover it, to incite them to revolt against the established government, but herself to incur no expense or risk. In her instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, whom at this time (8th Aug. 1559) she determined to send on a mission into Scotland, he was directed to "nourish the faction betwixt the Scots and the French, so that the French may be better occupied with them, and less busy with England. Whilst he was to explore the very truth, whether the Lord James did mean any enterprise towards the Crown of Scotland for himself, or not."[1]

These strange delays and suspicions irritated the reformers; and their leaders, the Lord James and the Earl of Argile, addressed letters of remonstrance to Crofts, governor of Berwick, and to Cecil, in which they complained of the treatment they had experienced. To be judged slow, negligent, and cold in their proceedings, gave them, they declared, great distress. "Ye are not ignorant, Sir," said they, addressing Crofts, "how difficult it is to persuade a multitude to the revolt of an authority established. The last time that we were pursued, our enemies were in number thrice more than we, besides that the Castle of Edinburgh declared plain enemy to us at our uttermost necessity, which was one cause of our appointment * *. Our strength, substance, and

[1] MS. Instructions, St. P. Offi. 8th. Aug. 1559. Backed in Cecil's hand, Sir Ralf Sadler.

number being considered, we mean nothing but plain simplicity, and a brotherly conjunction without long delay, for we hate all doubles."[1] In terms equally strong, Knox, in a letter sent at the same time (6th Aug. 1559) to Sir James Crofts, arraigned the delay and suspicions of the English Privy Council. "I must signify to you," said he, "that unless the Council be more forward in this common action, ye will utterly discourage the hearts of all here, for they cannot abide the crime of suspicion; they will not trifle, but if they cannot have present support of them, they will seek the next remedy (not that I mean that ever they intend to return to France) to preserve their own bodies, whatsoever become of the country which our enemies may easily occupy, and when they have so done, make your account what may ensue towards yourself."[2]

It was the policy of Elizabeth at this time, to distress France, through Scotland. The establishment of the Reformation, according to the model dictated by the stern anti-prelatical opinions of Knox, was not the aim to which she directed her efforts; she hated the man,[3] and considered the book which he had written against female government, an audacious and inexpiable offence; no concessions or

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Offi. backed by Cecil, Earl of Argile and Prior of St. Andrew's, to Sir James Crofts, 6th Aug. 1559, Stirling. It is signed by both Argile and Murray, but the body of the letter is in the hand-writing of Knox.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Offi. Knox to Sir J. Crofts. 6th Aug. 1559.

[3] Sadler, vol. i. pp. 569, 570. Also ibid. 532, 535.

explanations could disarm her resentment; she forbad him to set foot within her dominions; and to his repeated applications, that he might be permitted to preach in the north of England, Cecil, her Minister, was compelled to turn a deaf ear. Nor is this any matter of wonder, when we consider that the individual attachments of this Princess were strongly on the side of Romanism, and that Knox considered the Reformation in England as scarcely one remove from Popery. But although lukewarm in the cause of the Reformation, and desirous of peace with France, she was well aware of the gigantic schemes of ambition, conceived by the House of Guise. Her jealousy had been roused to the last degree by the attack upon her right to the throne and assumption of her arms and title, which had been early made by the Queen of Scots, and she dreaded the effect which the establishment of French influence and the overthrow of the party of the Congregation, must produce upon the great body of her Romish subjects in England and Ireland.

Under these circumstances, without actually breaking with France, she encouraged the Protestants to revolt against the authority of the Queen Dowager, and in reply to their repeated applications for money, Cecil hinted in his letters, as we have already seen, that they ought not to neglect the opportunity now afforded them, to strip the Romish Church of its pomp and wealth, and apply "good things to good uses."[1] It is important to attend

[1] MS. Letter St. P. Offi. quoted above (p. 144) 28 July, 1559.

to the reply made by the Lord James and Argile, (in name of the rest of the brethren) to such advice. "We are not ignorant" they said "that our enemies, the Popish kirkmen, are crafty, rich, malicious, and bloodthirsty, and most gladly would we have their riches otherwise bestowed. But, consider, Sir, that we have against us the established authority, which did ever favour you and Denmark both, in all your reformations, and therefore, that without support, we cannot bring them to such obedience as we desire. The danger imminent by the army prepared against us in France, moved us first to seek your support, and after to send our other messenger, Maister Knox, with fuller instructions to Sir James Crofts, which we suppose ye have received * * *.[1] We have tempted the Duke by all means possible, but as yet of him have no certainty other than a general promise that he will not be our enemy. * * * We cease not to provoke all men to favour our cause, and of our nobility we have established a Council, but suddenly to discharge this authority till that ye and we be fully accorded, it is not thought expedient."[2]

From this avowal it is evident that the intentions of the Congregation had undergone a material alteration. Some little time before (19th July, 1559,) they had declared in their letter to Cecil, that any altera-

[1] This alludes to the instructions quoted above in p. 149, dated 31st July, 1559. MS. St. P. Offi.

[2] MS. St. P. Offi. 13th Aug. 1559, Glasgow. Subscribed your loving and assured friends, in the name of the rest.

tion in authority, by which we must understand a revolt against the Queen Dowager for the purpose of introducing a change in the civil government of the country, had not entered into their hearts, unless extreme necessity compelled them to it, their single purpose being to advance the glory of Christ, to remove superstition and idolatry, and to maintain the liberty of their country against the tyranny of strangers; the remonstrances and encouragement of Elizabeth, had now effected an important change. They had earnestly laboured to seduce the Duke of Chastelherault from his allegiance, with a view, probably, of restoring him to the Regency—they had established a Council, and only waited a full agreement with England to depose the Queen Dowager from her authority, and substitute some more favoured individual of their own party in her stead.

Who this should be was a question which did not fail to present itself to the English Court, and Elizabeth seems to have looked to two noble persons. The first was the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Chastelherault, next heir to the Crown after the young Queen, and lately Captain of the Scottish Guard in France. Having embraced the opinions of the reformers, and engaged in intrigues with England, he had become an object of suspicion to the French government, which had stript him of his preferments, and was about to throw him into prison when he escaped to Geneva. It had early occurred to Cecil that the presence of this young nobleman in Scotland would be useful as a check on the influ-

ence of the Queen Dowager. Letters were, therefore, sent to recal him home, and every means taken to persuade his father, to resist the Regent. In Elizabeth's instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, when she was about to send him into that country (8th August, 1559,) this Minister was directed to exhort the Duke for "preservation of the expectant interest which he hath to the Crown, if God call the young Queen before she have issue, to withstand (resist) the governance of that realm by any other than the blood of Scotland." He was directed to quote the late example of the King of Spain, who, although husband to the Queen of England, committed no charge of any manner of office, spiritual or temporal to a stranger —and of his father Charles the Fifth, who governed his countries of Flanders and Brabant by their own nation, and to warn Arran that the French, under pretence of putting down the Reformation would never be satisfied till they had subjugated the realm, and utterly extirpated his house.[1] Neither the Duke, however, nor his son the Earl of Arran, possessed abilities sufficient for the high and difficult part thus allotted to them. Chastelherault, timid, irresolute, and indolent, was content to be neutral, and coveted repose. On the other hand, Arran, his son, was willing enough to engage in any schemes which promised advantage to himself, and his ambition even aspired so high as to a marriage with the

[1] MS. Instructions. St. P. Off. 8th Aug. 1559. Backed in Cecil's hand, Sir Ralf Sadler. Memorial of things to be imparted to the Queen's Majesty.

English Queen, but the vigour, ability, and self-command, requisite in the leader of a party were completely wanting in this young nobleman; vain, passionate, and capricious, his designs were adopted without consideration, and, upon the first appearance of difficulty, abandoned with precipitation and disgust. All this weakness, however, was not yet discovered, and for the present he was employed and flattered with the hopes of advancement.

But Elizabeth, and still more, her able Minister Cecil, had their eye upon another and a very different person, the Lord James, natural son of James the Fifth, and regarded even at this time, when he had not completed his twenty-sixth year,[1] as the most influential man in the Congregation. There is every reason to believe that his attachment to the principles of the Reformation was sincere, and that at first he proposed no other end in taking so prominent a lead than to procure liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of his religion for himself and his adherents. But personal ambition and the love of power were deeply planted in Murray's character—his mind was one of no ordinary cast, and when he began to busy himself in public life, a very short period sufficed to make him feel his talents, and take pleasure in the eminence they conferred upon him. Educated for the Church, first in his own country, and afterwards at the schools in France, he acquired habits of study, and a cultivation

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Killigrew. April, 1560. Backed by Cecil.

of mind superior to the barons by whom he was surrounded. He had early attached to himself some of those able and unscrupulous men, who at this time were to be found in the professions of the law, or in the Church—men who combined the craft and intrigue of civilised life, with the ferocity of a still feudal age; but whilst he used their assistance, his own powers of application were so great, as scarcely to require it; his acquaintance with European politics, superior to most of those with whom he acted, enabled him to transact business, and conduct his correspondence with uncommon clearness, brevity and precision; his knowledge of human nature was profound, he possessed that rapid intuitive insight into the dispositions of those with whom he acted, which taught him to select with readiness, and to employ with success, those best calculated to carry forward his designs, and it was his peculiar art to appear to do nothing, whilst, in truth, he did all. There was a bluntness, openness and honesty about his manner, which disarmed suspicion and disposed men to unbosom themselves to him with equal readiness and sincerity; yet when the conference was ended, they were often surprised to find that the confidence had been altogether on one side—they had revealed their own purposes, and Murray, with all his apparent frankness, had betrayed none of his secrets. There is perhaps no kind of man more dangerous in public life, than he who conceals matured purposes, under a negligent and careless exterior: if to this we add, that his talents in war were of a superior order

—that he was brave, almost to rashness, that his address was dignified, and his countenance noble and kingly, we shall be at no loss to comprehend the extraordinary influence which he had acquired, not only over his own party, but in England and on the continent.

It had begun to be whispered in France, as we have seen, and at the English Court, that Murray aimed secretly at the Crown. When Cecil drew up his instructions for Sir Ralph Sadler, he was directed to investigate whether the Lord James, whose power with the Congregation appeared to be daily on the increase, did really look so high, and it was added, "if he do, and the Duke be found very cold in his own causes, it shall not be amiss to let him follow his own device therein, without dissuading or persuading him anything therein."[1] A letter written a few days after this by Knox to Sir Wm. Cecil, describes the condition of the reformed party, and their anxiety for assistance from England, in strong terms. "The case of these gentlemen standeth thus, that unless without delay money be furnished to pay their soldiers, who in number are now but five hundred, for their service by past, and to retain another thousand footmen, with three hundred horsemen for a time, they will be compelled every man to seek the next way for his own safety. I am assured (as flesh may be of flesh) that some of them will take a very hard life before that ever they compone either with the Queen

[1] MS St. P. Off., 8th August 1559. Backed by Cecil, Sir Ralf Saddler.

Regent, or with France, but this I dare not promise of all, unless in you they see greater forwardness to their support. To aid us so liberally as we require, to some of you will appear excessive, and to displease France, to many, will appear dangerous; but, Sir, I hope that ye consider that our destruction were your greatest loss, and that when France shall be our full master (which God avert) they will be but slender friends to you. Lord Bettancourt bragged in his credit after he had delivered his menacing letter to the Prior, that the King and his Council would spend the Crown of France, unless they had our full obedience, I am assured, that unless they had a farther respect, they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men with money, and some of our number are so poor, as before I wrote, that without support they cannot serve. Some they threaten, and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this meantime, if you ly as manacled, what will be the end you may easily conclude. Some of the Council immediately after the sight of your letters, departed, not well appeased. The Earl of Argile is gone to his country for putting order to the same, and mindeth shortly to return with his force, if assurance be had of your support, and likewise will the gentlemen in these lower parts put themselves in readiness to enterprise the uttermost, if ye will assist with them, and therefore in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require you, Sir, to make plain answer what they may lippen (trust) to, and at what time their support shall be in readiness.

Some danger is in the drift of time, in such matters ye are not ignorant. It was much marvelled that the Queen's Maj. wrote no manner of answer, considering that her good Father, the most noble and most redoubted of his time, disdained not, lovingly, to write to men fewer in number and far inferior in authority and power, than be those that wrote to her Grace."[1]

These strong representations had the desired effect. Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to Berwick for the purpose of managing the correspondence between the reformers and the English Court (20 August, 1559). He assured them of immediate pecuniary assistance, and carried with him three thousand pounds,[2] which Elizabeth directed to be applied with such secrecy and discretion, as not to impair the treaties of peace lately concluded with Scotland.[3] On his arrival, he found a messenger from Knox, by whom he was assured, that if the Queen would furnish them with money to pay a body of fifteen hundred arquebuses, and three hundred horse, they would soon not

[1] Original MS. Letter, St. P. Off., St. Andrew's, 15th August, 1559, backed in Cecil's hand, Mr. Knox. I have gone into greater length in this part of the History, which involves the causes and motives connected with the early annals of the Reformation, because many of the letters which I have given, were unknown to Dr. M'Crie, others have been printed in his Life of Knox, but incorrectly, with many passages omitted, (owing to his not having had the originals before him), and the period, one of great importance, has been far too slightly treated by our general historians.

[2] As to the mode in which the money was to be advanced to the Protestants, see Sadler, vol. i. p. 439.

[3] Sadler's St. P. by Scott, vol. i. pp. 392, 399.

only expel the French from Scotland, but achieve their whole purpose.[1] Some little time after this (8th September), Balnevis, a zealous adherent of the Congregation and an intimate friend of Knox, repaired privately to Berwick, where he held a long consultation with Sir Ralph Sadler, and fully explained the views of the Protestants. He assured them that the breach between them and the Queen Regent was now incurable; that having advanced so far in their resistance, they must go forward with the matter or lose their lives; that whatever pretence they made, the principal mark they shot at was to introduce an alteration of the state, and authority, to depose the Regent, place the supreme power in the hands of the Duke or his son, the Earl of Arran, and then enter into open treaty with England according to the exigency of the case. So well satisfied was Sadler with the representations of this zealous partizan, that he paid him two thousand pounds, to be delivered to the leaders of the Congregation for the maintenance of their troops, and assured him that some steps should be taken for the relief of Kirkaldy, Ormeston, Whitelaw, and others. These men, it appears, were in distress, owing to the sums they had already spent in this service, and to their pensions from France having been stopped since they had taken part with the Congregation.[2]

It happened by a singular coincidence, that whilst

[1] Ibid. p. 400.

[2] Sadler, vol. i. pp. 434, 435. Arrival of the French—Sadler, vol. i. p. 403—411. Keith, pp. 101, 102.

these schemes for the advancement of Arran formed the subject of a midnight conference in the castle of Berwick, that young Earl himself alighted at the gate, only three hours after the entrance of Balnevis, but all was managed so secretly, that both were for some time under the same roof without being aware of the circumstance. It was judged right, however, that they should meet, and after a brief but joyful interview, Balnevis departed, under cover of night, to Holy Island; from which, carrying the money with him, he arrived at the head-quarters of the Congregation. Arran, having disguised himself, assumed the name of Monsieur de Beaufort, and passed into Teviotdale, from whence he was conducted to his father in the castle of Hamilton.[1] Yet all this was transacted, according to the express directions of Cecil, with such secrecy, that for sometime it was unknown he was in Scotland. (16th September, 1559.)[2]

This assistance from Elizabeth came very opportunely to enable the Congregation to resist the decided measures of France and the Queen Regent. In the beginning of August, the Sieur de Bettancourt had arrived from the French Court. He assured the Queen that an army, commanded by her brother the Marquess D'Elbeuf, would speedily embark for Scotland. He brought letters from the King and Queen of France to the Lord James, whom they regarded as the chief leader of the Protestants

[1] Sadler, vol. i. pp. 435,450, 461.

[2] For Arran's arrival, see Sadler, vol. i. p. 447.

They reminded him of the benefits he had received from France, upbraided him with his ingratitude, and threatened him with absolute ruin if he persisted in his rebellious courses. To these accusations Murray directed a temperate, though an insincere reply. He professed himself to be solely actuated by a zeal for the truth and the glory of God; and he declared for himself and the rest of the Congregation, that, except upon the subject of religion, they would be faithful to their sovereign, and detested the crime of sedition.[1]

Preparations for war now rapidly advanced. In the end of August a force of a thousand men, under the command of an Italian officer named Octavian, had disembarked at Leith, and with these the Queen Dowager began to entrench and fortify that port. She despatched their leader back to France, with an earnest request for a larger reinforcement. She warned the French Court that her adversaries were in active correspondence with England, Germany, and Denmark; stated the necessity for immediate activity, before they were allowed to concentrate their strength; and assured them, that with four ships of war to cruise in the Firth, an additional thousand men and a hundred barbed horse, she would undertake to reduce the kingdom to peace.[2] This, however, was not so easily effected. The people had been long dissatisfied with the French troops, whose stay in Scotland was expensive and troublesome.

[1] Knox, p. 161. Spottiswood, p. 131.
[2] Keith, p. 102.

The partiality of the Regent to her own nation had excited disgust; the reformed preachers perambulated the country, and in their discourses won the people to their devotion, not only on the great subject of religion, but so eloquently declaimed against the alleged conspiracy of the Regent for the subjugation of the realm under a foreign yoke, that the arrival of a new auxiliary force was viewed with the utmost jealousy and aversion.[1] A more pacific mission, indeed, succeeded this warlike demonstration, consisting of the Bishop of Amiens and two learned doctors of the Sorbonne; but although this foreign prelate came as legate-a-latere from the Pope, and his companions earnestly laboured to reconcile the reformers to the ancient faith, their united efforts to "purge the church and the people from heretical pollutions" were unavailing. Nor was the Legate completely a messenger of peace; for along with him came La Brosse, a French officer, two hundred men,[2] and a company of eighty horse.[3]

Both sides now resolved on war; and on the arrival of Arran, a secret consultation having been held at Hamilton with the principal leaders of the Congregation,[4] the Duke, who had hitherto been neutral,

[1] Calig. B. X. fol. 38. MS. Letter, Henry Balnevis to Sir R. Sadler and Sir J. Crofts.—Stirling, 22nd Sep. 1559.

[2] Sadler, St. P., vol. i. pp. 417, 464, 470, 475.

[3] They arrived in three ships on 24th September, 1559. Caligula, B. x. fol. 39. Sadler and Crofts to Cecil. Berwick, Sep. 27, 1559.

[4] See an important Letter in Mr. Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Mary, p. 73. Arran to Sir William Cecil, 21st September, 1559.

agreed to join their party, and signed those covenants by which they bound themselves to subvert the Romish faith, to overturn the government of the Regent, and to expel the French from the country.[1] A message was then transmitted to the Queen, requiring her to desist from the fortification of Leith; to which she answered with spirit, that it was as lawful for her daughter to strengthen her own seaport without asking leave of the nobility, as for the Duke to build at Hamilton, nor would she stay her proceedings unless compelled by force. This challenge on the part of the reformers was premature and ill-judged. They could not, at the earliest, assemble their whole force before the 15th of October; they were not certain of a second supply of money from England; the Duke, although now one of their party, was timid and irresolute; Argile was occupied with Maconnell in his own country; and Huntly, although disposed to favour their proceedings, was not yet separated entirely from the Queen Regent. Instead, therefore, of being able to follow up their warlike message by any hostile attack, they contented themselves with the occupation of Broughty Craig, a strong fortified castle in the mouth of the Tay, and granted a commission to Glencairn and Erskine of Dun to recommence their proceedings against the religious houses, by suppressing and purging of idolatry the abbey of Pasley.[2]

[1] MS. Letter. Caligula, B. x. fol. 38. Henry Balnevis to Sadler and Crofts, 22nd September, 1559.

[2] Sadler, vol. i. p. 465. Also pp. 500, 507.

Soon after this their cause gained an important accession. Thomas Randall or Randolph, who had become acquainted with the Earl of Arran, at Geneva, at the earnest request of this young nobleman was sent after him into Scotland. What was the particular tie which attached so able and busy an intriguer as Randolph to the fortunes of Arran, does not appear, but Cecil lost no time in seconding his wishes, and the presence of this English agent, who arrived with much secrecy at Hamilton in the end of September,[1] was of essential service in imparting energy and promptitude to the measures of the reformers. But this was not all, Maitland of Lethington, the Secretary to the Queen Regent, a man whose talents as a statesman were of the highest order, and who had long professed himself a friend to the reformed doctrines, now secretly joined their party, and although he openly adhered to the Queen, betrayed her councils and most private affairs to her enemies.

Matters now proceeded with more decision and rapidity.[2] On the 15th of October, the Congregation assembled their force, it amounted to twelve thousand men, and next day they advanced to Edinburgh which they occupied without resistance, the Regent having retired within the fortifications of Leith. One Council for civil affairs and another for matters of religion was then appointed.[3] In the

[1] Sadler, vol. i. p. 474.

[2] Ibid. p. 498. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 383.

[3] Orig. St. P. Off. Backed by Cecil, 10th Nov. 1559. Intelligence out of Scotland. Also, Caligula, B. x. f. 44, Randolph to Sadler, 25th Oct. 1559.

first were included, the Duke, his son the Earl of Arran, the Earls of Argile, and Glencairn, the Lord James, with the Lords Ruthven, Boyd, Maxwell, Down, Henry Balnevis, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the Provost of Dundee. The second for religion embraced Knox, Goodman, and the Bishop of Galloway, who had renounced his Romish errors and embraced the principles of the Protestants. They next addressed a letter to the Queen, requiring her instantly to command all foreigners and men-at-arms to depart from the town of Leith, and leave it free and open to the subjects of the realm. She replied, that their letter appeared from its tone rather to come from a prince to his subjects than from subjects to a prince, that it was ridiculous to talk of foreigners making a conquest of the realm, since Frenchmen were naturalized subjects, and Scotland united to France by marriage, and she concluded by commanding the Duke and his company, under pain of treason, to depart from the capital.

The Lord Lion who brought this message from the Queen was requested to await his answer, and the whole Congregation, consisting of the nobles, barons, and burgesses of their faction, assembled in the Tolbooth of the city on the 21st of October.

At this meeting the question of the deposition of the Regent was debated with great solemnity. It was urged by Lord Ruthven, who was chosen president, that since she, who was not their natural born sovereign, but only a Regent, had contemptuously

refused the requests of those who by birth were councillors of the realm, and since her pretences threatened to bring the Commonwealth into bondage, she ought no longer to be permitted to domineer over them. He proposed, therefore, that she should be deposed, and much diversity of opinion having been expressed, they requested the advice of their preachers.

On this delicate subject much thought and discussion had already taken place. We have seen, indeed, that the deprivation of the Queen, and the alteration of the civil government, had been contemplated some time before. Willock spoke first, and having enlarged on the Divine Ordinance of Magistracy, he stated its limitations by the word of God, and quoted the examples of the depositions of Kings which occurred in the Scriptures; he then adverted to the oppression inflicted on them by the Queen Regent, whom he denominated an open and obstinate idolatress. She had refused them justice, she had invaded their liberties, she had prevented the preaching of God's word, and had not scrupled to declare that their country was no longer a free and independent realm, but an appanage of France. Such being her conduct, he could see no reason why they, the born councillors of the realm, should scruple to divest her of all authority amongst them.[1] This judgment was corroborated, though somewhat more guardedly, by Knox. He approved, he said, of the

[1] Keith, pp. 104, 105.

sentiments of his brother, but warned them that no malversation of the Regent ought to withdraw their hearts from the obedience due to their sovereigns, and protested that they ought deeply to examine their own motives. If, he said, the present grave and momentous proceeding originated not from the desire to preserve their Commonwealth, but was dictated by private malice and envy, they need not expect to escape the wrath of God; and lastly, he observed, that upon her repentance and submission to the nobility, they were undoubtedly bound to restore her to the same honours of which she was now deprived.[1] Such being the decision of their ministers the votes of the assembly were individually taken; it was resolved without a dissenting voice, that the Regent should be suspended from her authority, and the act for this purpose was immediately drawn up, and proclaimed publicly to the people. (22nd Oct.) It remained only to communicate it to the Regent, and for this purpose a letter was addressed to her and delivered to the Lion herald. It informed her that they had received her message, and understood from the terms in which it was conceived her determined opposition to the glory of God, the liberty of the realm, and the welfare of the nobles; for saving of which, it continued, we have in our Sovereign Lord and Lady's name suspended your commission, and all administration of the policy your Grace may pretend thereby, being most assuredly persuaded

[1] MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 386, 387, and Caligula, B. x. fol. 42.

that your proceedings are direct contrary to our Sovereign Lord and Lady's will, whom we ever esteem to be for the weal and not for the hurt of this our Commonweal. And, it proceeded, "as your Grace will not acknowledge us, our Sovereign Lord and Lady's true barons, for your subjects and council, no more will we acknowledge you for any Regent or lawful Magistrate unto us. Seeing if any authority ye have by reason of our Sovereign's commission granted unto your Grace, the same for most weighty reasons is worthily suspended by us, by name and authority of our sovereigns, whose council we are, of native birth, in the affairs of this our Commonweal."[1]

It must be admitted, that this violent and unprecedented measure, although attempted to be concealed under the name and authority of the Sovereign, was an act of open rebellion—to attempt to justify their proceedings under the allegation that they were born councillors of the realm, was a specious but unsound pretence. Their birth entitled some of them to sit in Parliament, but could never bestow upon them the power to constitute themselves a self-elected council, without the intervention of the royal authority or any meeting of the three estates. Having, however, thus boldly begun, it was judged right to proceed in the same strain; on the 25th a herald was sent to summon all French and Scottish soldiers to leave the town of Leith, within twelve hours; this being disregarded, preparations were made for the assault, and

[1] Keith, p. 105,

scaling ladders were ordered to be prepared in the aisles of the High Church of St. Giles, much to the annoyance of the preachers, who predicted that an enterprise begun in sacrilege, must end in defeat.[1] Nor was it long before these gloomy anticipations were fulfilled. The money given to Balnevis, and a small additional sum brought by Randolph, was now spent—the soldiers of the Congregation clamoured for pay, and breaking into mutiny offered their services to any Romish or Protestant master who would pay them their wages—the army, lately twelve thousand strong, but composed of inferior vassals, who could not remain long in the field, diminished daily; consternation seized the minds of their leaders, and it was evident that without additional assistance their great enterprise was at an end. To comfort them, Elizabeth, at the earnest entreaties of Cecil, forgot her parsimony, and entrusted four thousand pounds to Cockburn, of Ormeston, a zealous adherent of the cause, who undertook the dangerous commission of carrying it to head quarters, but he was waylaid, wounded, and robbed of the whole by the Earl of Bothwell, and the Congregation thrown into extreme distress.[2] The action was the more treacherous, as Bothwell, afterwards so notorious for his crimes, was at this moment in secret correspondence with the re-

[1] Knox, p. 200. Caligula, B. x. fol. 47. The Scottish Lords to Sir R. Sadler, 6th Nov. 1559.

[2] Sadler's St. P. pp. 538, 539. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 393. MS. St. P. Off., Intelligence out of Scotland, 10th Nov. 1559.

formers, and had professed attachment to their cause. To this succeeded another calamity: Haliburton, provost of Dundee, and reputed one of the best military leaders in the country, commanded a party of his townsmen at the seige of Leith, and had planted some great ordnance on an eminence near Holyrood. During the absence of many of the leaders of the Congregation who had gone to the sermon, which lasted till noon, the French attacked the battery, and defeating his party with great loss, pursued them into the streets of the city, where they had the cruelty to slay not only several aged persons who could make no resistance, but to murder a woman in cold blood, with an infant at her breast.[1] On their return to Leith the Queen Regent sitting on the ramparts welcomed her victorious soldiers, and smiled to see them loaded with the homely and multifarious plunder of the houses of her poor citizens. We cannot wonder that the popularity of this Princess was on the wane, yet her affairs continued to prosper, and her enemies divided in opinion and despairing of support, became weakened by desertion and spiritless in their exertion. On the 5th November the French sallied from Leith, with the purpose of intercepting a convoy carrying provisions into Edinburgh. Arran and the Lord James attacked them at the head of a small company, but pushing into difficult ground, they got entangled between the morass of Restalrig and the moat surrounding the park, and falling into confusion,

[1] MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p, 394.

were defeated with great loss. Haliburton, to whose exertions it was owing that they were not entirely cut to pieces, fell in this action; and although the Lord James and Arran escaped, its consequences were so fatal, that the Congregation abandoned the town at midnight, and retired precipitately, first to Linlithgow and afterwards to Stirling (6th Nov. 1559). The capital had generally been esteemed peculiarly favourable to the reformers, but the late disasters cooled the ardour of many of their proselytes, and they retreated amidst the shouts and insults of a great proportion of the citizens.[1]

At this season of trial and distress, the courage and eloquence of Knox wonderfully supported his party. Whilst yet in Edinburgh he had commenced a sermon, (on the 80th Psalm) in which he demonstrated that the felicity of God's people was not to be measured by external appearances, since in the course of their history it had often happened, that his chosen flock suffered more severely than the ignorant and idolatrous heathen; at Stirling, he continued the subject, warned the congregation of their sin in trusting too much to an arm of flesh—reminded them of their humility and holiness, when at the commencement of this great struggle they had only God for their protector, and bade them beware, lest they had more respect to the power and dignity of their leader, the Duke, than to the favour of heaven, and the equity of

[1] MS. Calderwood, pp. 399, 400. Sadler, vol. i. p. 554. MS. Letter St. P. Off., 10th Nov. 1559, Intelligence out of Scotland. Also, MS. St. P. Off., Randolph to Sir J. Crofts, 11th Nov. 1559.

their cause. Passing from this to a personal exhortation, he reproached Chastelherault with his slowness to join the reformers, and pointed out the sin he had committed in giving assistance to their enemies. "I am uncertain" said he, "if my Lord's grace hath unfeignedly repented of his assistance given to the murderers who unjustly pursued us, I am uncertain if he hath repented of the innocent blood of Christ's martyrs, which was shed through his default. But let it be that so he hath done, (as I hear he hath confessed his offence before the Lords and brethren of the Congregation) yet, sure I am that neither he nor his friends did feel before this time the anguish and grief of heart which we felt when their blind fury pursued us—and, therefore, hath God justly permitted both them and us to fall in this confusion—us, because we pnt our confidence in man—and them, to make them feel how bitter was that cup which they had made others to drink before them; what then remaineth, said he, but that both they and we turn to the Eternal—our God who beateth down to death, that he may raise up again, to leave behind the remembrance of his wondrous deliverance to the praise of his own name, which, if we do unfeignedly, I no more doubt, that this our dolour, confusion, and fear, shall be turned into joy, honour, and boldness, than I doubt that God gave victory to the Israelites over the Benjamites, after they were twice with ignominy repulsed and driven back. Be assured, he concluded, with that fervor of expression and manner which gave weight and entrance to every syllable—this cause, whatever

becomes of us and our mortal carcases, shall in despite of Satan, prevail in this realm of Scotland. It is the eternal truth of God, and, however for the time oppressed, must in the end be triumphant.[1]

Animated by this address, the leaders met in Council, and after prayer by Knox it was resolved instantly to despatch Maitland, of Lethington, to solicit assistance from Elizabeth; at the same time, being unable to keep the field, they determined, till an answer arrived from England to separate into two parties. The Duke, with the Earl of Glencairn, and the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, remained at Glasgow with their friends, for the comfort and defence of the brethren—Arran, the Lord James, the Earl of Rothes, the Master of Lindsay, and their adherents, continued in Fife,[2] and it was resolved, that on the 16th December a Convention should be held at Stirling, with the view of deciding upon more active operations.

On the retreat of the Protestants from the capital, the town was immediately occupied by the Queen Regent, but all her attempts to procure possession of the castle were unavailing. Its Governor, Lord Erskine, declared, that as it had been committed to his charge by the Parliament of Scotland,[3] nothing but an order of the same great Council, would induce him to surrender it, and although alternately flattered

[1] Knox's History, p. 210.

[2] MS. Letters St. P. Off., Balnevis to Cecil, 19th Nov. 1559.

[3] MS. Letter St. P. O., 10th December, 1559. Alexander Whitelaw to Cecil.

and threatened by both parties, he appears honestly to have kept his resolution. Yet, it was evident that the Regent had gained important ground—her successes imparted confidence to her soldiers, and the news having been carried to France, great preparations were made to send such a force into Scotland, as should at once crush the Congregation and put an end to the war.

But Elizabeth became at length convinced that such a result would weaken the power and endanger the tranquillity of England, nor could the reformers have selected a more able envoy than Maitland of Lethington to confirm her in this idea.[1] He represented to her, in strong terms, the impossibility of their being able to cope with the veteran troops of France, unless she supported them by an open demonstration in their favour, and sent a naval and military force to their assistance. The great difficulty lay in the circumstance that both countries were at peace, and that any active co-operation with the reformed faction would justly be considered as an open declaration of war. Some time before this (25th October, 1559) Knox had suggested to Sir James Crofts, the Governor of Berwick, a crafty political expedient by which a thousand or more men might, without breach of league with France, be sent to their assistance in Scotland.[2] It was free, he said, for English subjects to serve any nation or prince in war who paid their wages; and if this was questioned,

[1] Sadler, vol. i. p. 565. [2] Caligula, B. x. f. 43, dorso. Knox, under the feigned name of Sinclair to Crofts, 25th Oct. 1559.

he recommended that Elizabeth should first send the auxiliaries into Scotland, and then declare them rebels after they had embraced the service of the Congregation.[1] Crofts either was, or affected to be, shocked by such advice at the time,[2] but on the arrival of Maitland at the English Court, his representations of the desperate condition of the affairs of the Protestants induced Elizabeth and her Council to adopt a line of policy essentially the same as that recommended by the Reformer. It was resolved to enter into a solemn agreement with the leaders of the Congregation, the terms of which were to be discussed in a secret meeting of commissioners from both countries, to be held at Berwick. Preparations, at the same time, were made for the equipment of a fleet, which was to cruise in the Firth; and orders were given to assemble an army, which might co-operate with the reduced forces of the Protestants. This grateful intelligence was brought to the reformers on the 15th of December, by Robert Melvil, who, along with Randolph, had accompanied Lethington to the English Court, and enjoyed the confidence of Elizabeth.[3]

It is curious to observe the extraordinary circumspection and care used by the English Queen in the steps which she now took. She transmitted to the reformers exact directions regarding the manner in which they were to apply to her for relief. The

[1] Keith, appendix, pp. 39, 40, 41.

[2] Sadler, vol. i. pp. 523, 524. [3] Sadler, vol. i. p. 647. Also, Caligula, B. x. 57 MS. Instructions to Winter.

instructions to Lethington when he took his journey to the English Court, were drawn up in strict accordance to a paper sent by Cecil; and special pains were taken, that in the application which they made, there was no mention of religion. The single ground upon which they entreated succour from England, was the tyranny of France, the evident intention of that kingdom to make a conquest of Scotland, and ultimately to dispossess Elizabeth of the throne.[1] "Most true it is," say they, "that this practice of the French is not attempted only against this kingdom of Scotland, but also against the Crown and kingdom of England and Ireland, for we know most certainly that the French have devised to spread abroad, though most falsely, that our Queen is right heir to England and Ireland, and to notify the same to the world, have in paintings at public jousts in France and other places, this year caused the arms of England, contrary to all right, to be borne quarterly with the arms of Scotland, meaning nothing less than any augmentation to Scotland, but to annex them both perpetually to the Crown of France."[2] We have here a strong presumption that Elizabeth was inimical to what she esteemed the ultra-Protestant reformation established in Scotland, nor can it be denied that this transaction presents us with a somewhat mortifying view of the early reformers in this country, when we find, that after all the solemn

[1] Sadler, vol. i. p. 569.

[2] This sentence is in great part a transcript of the instructions drawn up by Elizabeth. See Sadler, p. 570.

warnings denounced against trusting too exclusively to an arm of flesh, Knox, who then acted as secretary to the Council of the Congregation in the west, and Balnevis, who filled the same situation in the Council established at Glasgow, consented to purchase the co-operation of mere human power, by omitting all allusion to that great cause of religious reformation which they had so repeatedly represented as the paramount object for which they had taken up arms, and were ready to sacrifice their lives.

During the interval occupied by the mission of Lethington to England, neither party was idle. The Queen Dowager eagerly availed herself of the advantages she had gained. She despatched Monsieur de Rubay to remonstrate with Elizabeth against the support which she had given to her rebellious subjects;[1] she occupied the capital, and afterwards carried the war into Fife, where she exerted herself to disperse and defeat the little band there commanded by Arran and the Lord James. These leaders, however, who had gained in military experience, were able to keep the French in check; and a seasonable supply of money, which they received early in December, communicated fresh spirits to their party, and encouraged them to levy an additional force of one thousand foot and two hundred horse.[2] At Glasgow, the Duke

[1] MS. Letter, draft by Cecil, St. P. Off. Queen Elizabeth to the Queen Dowager, 28th November, 1559. See also Mr. Stevenson's Illustrations, p. 78. The Lord James to Sir R. Sadler and Sir J. Crofts, November 17th, 1559. Also, Calig. B.x. 53 dorso.

[2] Sadler, vol. i. pp. 631, 632.

confined his efforts to the "abolition of idolatry." His reformation, however, was one of a very active and violent description; not only did he cause all the images, altars, and relics of superstition within the churches to be pulled down, but he attacked and took possession of the palace of the Archbishop, from which he was with difficulty expelled by the French. Soon after this (30th November, 1559), a proclamation was made at Glasgow. It ran in the name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scots, and informed those misguided subjects who still respected the authority of the Queen Dowager, that her whole power had been devolved upon the Lords of the Privy Council, who were reformed. Their chief aim, they declared, was to advance the glory of God, and to remove idolatry; for which end they commanded all such clergymen as had not yet made open confession of their faith, to appear before the Council at St. Andrew's, and there give full proof of their conversion by a public renunciation of all manner of superstition, under the penalty of losing their benefices and being reputed enemies to God.[1] Nor was this all. In the beginning of the following month, the Council of the Congregation at Dundee, in the name of the King and Queen, directed their denunciations against the Consistory, which they denominated the Court of Antichrist, whose cursings and threatenings, they affirmed, had greatly oppressed and deluded the people. They commanded that no such assembly

[1] Keith, p. 111.

should afterwards be held; and interdicted such wicked persons as had dared to disobey this injunction, from any repetition of their offence under pain of death.[1] It is certain, therefore, that the Congregation, although Elizabeth did not permit them to name the subject of religion, had in no respect departed from their resolution to destroy the Romish creed, and to plant a purer form of doctrine and worship upon its ruins.

The eyes of both parties were now anxiously turned to the sea. The French were aware that the Marquess D'Elbeuf had sailed from Calais with a powerful fleet,[2] the Protestants knew that Winter, the English admiral, was embarked for Scotland, with a squadron of fourteen ships of war; uncertain, however, of the time they might be detained, it was not judged prudent to risk a defeat,[3] and D'Osell, the French commander, encouraged by some trifling successes, concentrated his force at Dysart, and began his march along the coast, with the design of attacking St. Andrew's. At this moment some large vessels were descried bearing up the Firth, and the French soldiers believing them to be their friends, expressed the utmost exultation. In a short time, however, these hopes were turned into dismay. The stranger ships hoisting the English colours, proved to be

[1] Keith, p. 112 (14th December, 1559).

[2] The exact time of the Marquess sailing for Scotland is uncertain. On the 30th Dec. Cecil writes, he had not sailed. Sadler, vol. i. p. 669.

[3] Sadler, vol. i. p. 690. Ibid. p. 697 (January 23, 1559.)

Winter, who having first seized two victuallers which lay in their course, proceeded and cast anchor in the road. Their arrival intimidated D'Osell; but making a forced and circuitous march by Stirling, in which his troops were dreadfully harassed, not only by the snow drifting in their faces, but by the attacks of the Lord James and his cavalry,[1] he at last with difficulty, regained his fortifications of Leith. Meanwhile the Regent having sent on board the Admiral to demand the cause of this visit in a time of peace, was answered, "that his intentions were pacific, and having gone to sea in search of pirates, he had entered the Firth to watch for them there."[2] A remonstrance which she directed to be made to Elizabeth by the French ambassador, De Sevre, was met by a reply equally evasive. The Queen solemnly assured him she respected the treaties, and thought of nothing less than war, but she added that she saw with uneasiness the increase of the French force in Scotland, and deemed it prudent to strengthen her border garrisons, and observe the progress of their arms. De Sevre then replied, "that what chiefly gave discontentment to his Court was, the aid which the Queen of England had given to the Scottish rebels;" to which she answered, "that she could not consider the nobility and nation of Scotland as rebels; she deemed them, on the contrary, wise and faithful subjects to the Crown of Scotland, since they had

[1] Sadler, vol. i. p. 699. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 55.

[2] MS. Calderwood, p. 407, vol. i. Keith, 116. Sadler, vol. i. p. 697.

ventured to offend the French King in defence of the rights of his wife, their sovereign." "And truly," added she, "if these Barons should permit the government of their kingdom to be wrested out of their hands during the absence of their Queen—if they tamely gave up the independence of their native country, whilst she used the counsel, not of the Scots, but solely of the French, her mother and other foreigners being her advisers in Scotland, and the Cardinal and Duke of Guise in France, it were a good cause for the world to speak shame of them—nay, if the young Queen herself should happen to survive her husband, she would in such a case have just occasion to condemn them all as cowards and unnatural subjects."[1]

Having returned this answer, in which there was some little truth, and a large proportion of duplicity, Elizabeth proceeded to give still more decided encouragement to the Congregation. In the end of January, (1559-60) the Duke of Norfolk arrived at Berwick, and being afterwards met by Maitland, Balnevis, Pitarrow, and Lord Ruthven, who were sent by the Congregation as Commissioners, a treaty was concluded, by which the English Queen took under her protection the kingdom of Scotland, with the Duke of Chastelherault and his party. She engaged to send them assistance, and continue it till the

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 17 Feb. 1559, backed by Cecil, answer made to the French Ambassador, by Sir W. Cecil and Sir — —.

[2] Sadler, vol. i. p. 708. Lethington did not leave London to go to Berwick till Feb. 18. See also MS. Calderwood, vol. i. 411.

French should be expelled from the country, and not to abandon the confederated Lords as long as they recognised Mary for their Queen, and maintained inviolate the rights of the Crown. On the other hand, it was agreed by the Duke and his friends, that they would join their forces with the army of England; they promised that no other union of their country with France than that which then existed should ever receive their sanction; they agreed to consider the enemies of England as their own, and if that country should be attacked by France, to furnish the Queen with an auxiliary force of four thousand men; they promised, in the last place, that hostages should immediately be given for the performance of these articles, and protested that they would continue loyal to the Queen of Scotland and the King her husband, in every thing which did not tend to the overthrow of the ancient laws and liberties of their country.[1]

This treaty being concluded, and the hostages having arrived at Berwick, the English army, under the command of Lord Grey, entered Scotland on the 2nd of April, 1560. It consisted of two thousand horse and six thousand foot, and was joined at Preston by the army of the Congregation,[2] led by the Duke, the Earls of Argile, Glencairn, and Menteith, the Lord James, and other principal officers amongst the reformers, and estimated at nearly eight thousand men.

[1] Keith, pp. 117, 118, 119. Also, MS. Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 410, 414, for Instructions to the Scottish Commissioners, and Ratification of the Treaty by the Congregation.

[2] Sadler, vol. i. p. 712. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 416.

On the advance of the enemy the Queen Regent was received by Lord Erskine within the Castle of Edinburgh, and the united armies having pushed forward from Preston to Restalrig, a sharp skirmish of cavalry took place, in which the French were beat back with the loss of forty men and a hundred prisoners.[1] Having determined to besiege Leith, Lord Grey encamped on the fields to the south and south east of that sea-port; Winter, the English admiral, opened a cannonade from the fleet, whilst a battery of eight pieces of ordnance commenced firing on the land side, by which the French guns placed on St. Antony's steeple, were speedily silenced and dismounted. But this advantage, which produced in the combined armies an over confidence and contempt of discipline, was followed by a more serious action, in which Martiques attacked the English trenches, entered the camp, spiked their cannon, and put two hundred and forty men to the sword, after which he retreated with little loss to Leith. (15th April.)[2]

The Congregation were discouraged, not only by this defeat, but by the coldness and continued neutrality of some of the principal Barons who had promised to join their party. Of these, the chief was Huntly, whose power in the northern parts of the realm was almost kingly, whilst his attachment to the Romish faith, and to his own interest, rendered him difficult to be dealt with. He had at length se-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Office, 6 April 1560. Randolph to Cecil. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 416. Lesly, Hist. Bannat. Edin. p. 282.
[2] Ibid. p. 285. Keith, p. 124.

cretly engaged to make common cause with the reformed party, but he delayed from day to day, watching the progress of events, and calculating the probabilities of success, before he declared himself, and he took the precaution of entering into a separate treaty with the Duke and the Lords, by which he stipulated for the preservation of his authority, and the security of his great possessions in the north.[1] The original papers drawn up on this occasion disclose an interesting fact, not formerly stated by any historian; the French, it appears, had gained so much influence in the northern parts of the country, that they procured a league to be made amongst the northern nobles and certain clans and islemen, by which they engaged to defend with their whole power, the ancient Romish faith, and to maintain the French authority within the kingdom. Huntly asserted, and probably with some foundation, that as soon as he joined the Congregation, he would be attacked as a common enemy by the members of this league; and he was answered by the reformed Lords, that as their agreement bound them to mutual defence, as soon as he joined the party, he would participate in this obligation, and enjoy its benefits.[2]

On the 25th of April Huntly entered the camp, accompanied by sixty horse, and soon after arrived the Bishop of Valence, a Commissioner from the

[1] MS. State Paper Off., My Lord, Earl of Huntly's desires and council. Backed by Randolph. Also MS. St. P. Off., The Lords' answer to the Earl of Huntly, 18th April, 1560.

[2] Ibid.

Court of France, instructed to attempt a mediation between the Queen Dowager and the Lords of the Congregation. As Elizabeth had requested he should be heard, the reformers, although indisposed to the negotiation, could not refuse to give him audience; but they insisted that the only basis upon which they could consent to treat should be, the demolition of the fortifications of Leith, and the expulsion of the French from Scotland. These terms were rejected by the Prelate, who upon his part demanded an express renunciation of the league with England: this, it was said, could not be done without the consent of Elizabeth, but they offered to produce the contract to the estates of Parliament, and if they found the league prejudicial to the liberty of Scotland, or against their allegiance as true subjects, to use every means to have it dissolved.[1] Under such circumstances, the conference having broken off, a second covenant was drawn up by the Congregation, (27th April) in which they obliged themselves, not only to support the reformation of religion, the freedom of preaching, and the due administration of the sacraments, according to the word of God, but to resist the tyranny of the French, and to unite for the expulsion of strangers, and the recovery of their ancient liberty.[2]

After many delays, Huntly at last consented to sign this agreement, and a reinforcement having

[1] MS. Letter St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 25th April 1560. Also, MS. Letter ibid., Randolph to the Duke of Norfolk, 25th April 1560, from the Camp. Also, Caligula, B. x. 88. Memorial to the Queen Dowager, by Chaperon, 11th April, 1560.

[2] Keith, p. 125.

arrived from England, Lord Grey determined to concentrate his whole efforts upon the siege of Leith, which began to suffer dreadfully from famine. Early in May a general assault was made, but treachery had entered the English camp: Sir James Crofts, to whom the attack upon the quarter towards the sea had been committed, failed to bring forward his division in time; the scaling ladders on being applied to the wall were found too short, and the English, after their utmost efforts, were driven back with severe loss.[1] The Queen Regent availing herself of this success, expressed her deep commiseration for the afflicted state of the country, and requested an interview with the Earls of Huntly and Glencairn, with whom she was ready to enter into a negotiation. Instead however of these two noblemen, the Lord James, with Lethington, Lord Ruthven and the Master of Maxwell waited upon her; they offered to dismiss their troops, to return to their allegiance, and acknowledge her authority, under the single condition that the French soldiers should depart the realm, and if these terms were accepted, they were ready, they said, to refer all other subjects in dispute to the decision of a Parliament. There seems every reason to believe that the Regent, if permitted to follow her own opinion, would have closed with these proposals, but her hands were tied by her French advisers: she requested time to consult La Brosse, D'Osell, and the

[1] Keith, p. 126. See Mr. Stevenson's Illustrations of the reign of Mary, p. 80. Letter of the Dowager to D'Osell.

Bishop of Amiens; this was refused—apparently unreasonably refused, and the conference came abruptly to an end.[1]

The anxiety of the Queen Dowager for peace was dictated by her own precarious health. Her constitution, worn out by fatigue and anxiety, was now completely broken: since her retreat within the Castle of Edinburgh, she had been repeatedly attacked by severe fits of sickness, and feeling that her period of life would be brief, she laboured to compose the troubles of the kingdom. This charitable design it was not permitted her to accomplish, but finding herself reduced to such a state of weakness, that death was rapidly approaching, she requested an interview with the leaders of the Congregation.[2] The Duke, the Earls of Argile, Marshall, and Glencairn, with the Lord James, immediately repaired to the castle, and entering her bed-chamber were welcomed by the dying Queen, with a kindness and cordiality which deeply moved them. She expressed her grief for the distracted state of the nation, and advised them to send both the French and English forces out of the kingdom—she declared her unfeigned concern that matters had been pushed to such extremities—ascribed it to the perverse councils of the French Cabinet, which she found herself obliged to obey, and denounced the crafty and interested advice of Huntly, who had interrupted the conference at Preston, when

[1] MS. Letter St. P. Off., 14th May, 1560, Lethington to Cecil.
[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 7th June, 1560. Randolph to Cecil.

she was herself ready to have agreed to their proposals. She recommended to them a faithful adherence to their league with France, which was in no degree inconsistent with, but rather necessarily arose out of the obedience they owed to their lawful Sovereign and the maintenance of their national liberty: to these advices she added many endearing expressions, and with tears asked pardon of all whom she had in any way offended, declaring that she herself freely forgave the injuries she might have received, and trusted that they should all meet with the same forgiveness at the bar of God. She then, with a countenance full of sweetness, though pallid and emaciated, embraced and kissed the nobles one by one, extending her hand to those of inferior rank who stood by, as a token of dying charity. It was impossible that so much love, so gently and unaffectedly expressed, should fail to move those to whom it was addressed. The hardy barons who had lately opposed her with the bitterest rancour, were dissolved in tears; they earnestly requested her to send for some godly and learned man from whom she might receive, not only consolation, but instruction, and on the succeeding day she willingly admitted a visit from Willock;[1] mild in his manner, but faithful to his belief, the minister spoke to the dying Princess of the efficacy of the death of Christ, and the abomination of the mass as a relic of idolatry. To the first point, she assured

[1] Keith, p. 128. Also, MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 7th June, 1560. Randolph to Cecil.

him, that she looked for salvation in no other way than in and through the death of her Saviour—to the second, she quietly declined to give an answer, and on the succeeding day, expired full of faith and hope.[1]

Had she been permitted to follow her own excellent understanding, there seems little doubt that the Queen Regent would have succeeded in composing the differences which so grievously distracted the kingdom, and threw so deep a gloom over the concluding years of her Government. Possessed, according to the testimony of writers whose opposite principles render their evidence unsuspected, of a sound and clear intellect, a kind heart, and a generous and forgiving temper, she had gained the affections of the people, and the confidence of the nobility, by the wisdom, liberality, and prudence with which she conducted the affairs of the country during the first years of her Regency. These were eminently popular and successful, nor did the tide turn against her, till surrounded by the perils and difficulties of the Reformation, she was compelled to adopt the violent principles of the House of Guise, and to forsake the system of conciliation which she at first adopted. It is sad to find that intolerance and persecution pursued her even after death. "Question," says Calderwood, "being moved afterwards about her burial, the preachers boldly gainstood to the use of any su-

[1] Keith, p. 128. She died on the 10th of June, 1560.

perstitious rites in that realm, which, God of his mercy had begun to purge. Her burial was deferred till further advisement, her corpse was lapped in a coffin of lead, and kept in the Castle from the 10th of June till the 19th of October, at which time it was carried by some pioneers to a ship,"[1] and transported to France.

[1] MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 421.

CHAP. IV.

1560 - 1561.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

England.	*France.*	*Germany.*	*Spain.*	*Portugal.*	*Popes.*
Elizabeth.	Charles IX.	Ferdinand I.	Phillip II.	Sebastian.	Pius IV.

PREVIOUS to the death of the Queen Regent all parties had become averse to the continuance of the war. From the first, Elizabeth had expressed to her Ministers, her earnest wish to remain at peace, if it could be accomplished with security and honour; and although she at length consented to send an army into Scotland, during its march and even after the opening of hostilities, her negotiations for an amicable settlement with France were earnest and uninterrupted—nor were the ministers of that kingdom less anxious to bring matters to an adjustment. They were convinced that the sagacity and penetration of Cecil and Throckmorton had fully detected their ambitious designs upon England, they agreed, that the vast and impracticable project of the House of Guise for the destruction of the reformed religion, and the union of the kingdoms of England, Scotland

and France under one head, must be for the present abandoned; the extraordinay expense of the Scottish war could no longer be borne, and in the present state of France itself, torn by religious persecution, and weakened by frequent conspiracies and popular commotions, peace appeared the only remedy for the country. Nor were the Lords of the Congregation prepared to prolong the struggle; experience had shown them, that even with the assistance of England, France was a more formidable enemy, than they had imagined. The fortifications of Leith were so strong, that Lethington acknowledged in one of his letters, it might defy, if well victualled, an army of twenty thousand men.[1] It was impossible for them to keep the great body of their forces composed of the feudal militia for any long time under arms, and without money, which was exceedingly scarce amongst them, their hired soldiers were ready to mutiny and sell themselves to the enemy. They were as willing therefore to negociate, as the other belligerents, and under these circumstances, after some time spent in correspondence and preliminary arrangements, Cecil, the able minister of Elizabeth, and Sir Nicholas Wotton, repaired to Edinburgh, in the middle of June. Here they met the French Commissioners, the Bishops of Valence, and Amiens, La Brosse, D'Osell, and the Sieur de Randan, who being the bearer of a letter from his master, the French King, to Elizabeth, had

[1] MS. Letter State Paper Off., Lethington to Norfolk, 9th April 1560.

in his passage through England been admitted to an interview with that princess.[1]

The treaty which was now about to be concluded embraced two great objects; it was necessary to settle, first, the differences between France and England, and secondly, to secure the interests of the Lords of the Congregation. They had taken up arms against their natural Sovereign for the expulsion of strangers from their country, and to restore the kingdom to its ancient liberty; with this end in view they had entered into a separate treaty with Elizabeth; who had afforded them assistance both in money and by the presence of an army. It was necessary therefore to protect them from the probable vengeance of their own Sovereign, and this could only be done by including in the agreement between England and France, a recognition of the treaty between Elizabeth and the reformed Lords. The complaint that the arms and title of the Monarchs of England had been unjustly assumed by the King and Queen of France, was easily adjusted. The French Commissioners, with little difficulty, agreed to renounce it, and even to consider the claim of compensation made by Elizabeth for the injury which she had sustained. But serious debates arose upon the second point. The negotiations here included that large portion of the nobles and commons of Scotland, which had embraced the Reformation. They had taken arms in the beginning of the war to protect themselves

[1] Forbes, vol. i. p. 432. St. P. Off., MS. Letter, Cecil to Elizabeth, Edin. 19th June, 1560.

from persecution, and to secure liberty of conscience. As it proceeded they had boldly announced their determination to overthrow the established religion, they had carried this resolution into effect by an attack upon the religious houses, whose revenues had been seized, their lands placed in the hands of agents or factors, and the ecclesiastical proprietors reduced to poverty. Nor was this all; this same party had suspended the Queen Regent from the exercise of her authority, and had assumed the supreme power, not only without any commission from their Sovereign, but contrary to her express injunctions. It was not without reason, therefore, that they were regarded in France as guilty of rebellion, and with justice it was pleaded by the French Commissioners, that the treaty of Berwick, between the Queen of England and the Lords of the Congregation could never be recognised as binding by their Sovereign, without compromising her dignity in the most serious manner.

But if the French Lords were thus anxious to dissolve this obnoxious league, Cecil, who saw its advantages, was as resolute that it should be maintained. He declared it to be the fixed intention of his mistress that the treaty of Berwick should be not only recognised, but confirmed. The Commissioners of Mary and Francis remonstrated. "They had received no authority," they said "on this point; it was even part of their instructions, that any allusion to it, should be carefully avoided." The superior diplomatic craft of Cecil was successfully

exerted to meet the difficulty. He affected to be indignant and inflexible, "all conference," he said "must be broken off. The Duke of Norfolk should receive orders to advance with his army into Scotland, and the matter must once more be committed to the arbitrement of the sword." Nay, so vigorously did he exert himself, that on some question raised by the French regarding Elizabeth's right to the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the Minister threw his defiance in the teeth of the French Commissioners, and offered in that quarrel to spend his blood upon any of them that would deny it.[1] How this bravado was received does not appear, but in the end the dexterity of Cecil was triumphant. By his directions, an article was framed which flattered the vanity of the French, and preserved the dignity of their Sovereign, whilst it secured the real interests of the Congregation, without including any formal declaration that the concessions made to them by France proceeded from the alliance they had made with England. The sentence of the letter in which the Minister communicates this result to his Royal Mistress, is characteristic. "To make a cover for all this, those Ambassadors were forced by us to take a few good words in a preface to the same article, and we, content with the kernel, yielded to them the shell to play withal."[2]

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Cecil and Wotton to Elizabeth. 2d July, 1560.

[2] Haynes, St. Papers, vol. i. pp. *352*, *353*.

The treaty now concluded was in every way advantageous to the English Queen. The claims of France, and the pretensions of this power, had been a source of great annoyance to her from the commencement of her reign. They were now finally renounced; it was agreed that the French army should leave Scotland; all anxiety regarding an attack upon her kingdom, through this country was removed, and her influence over the Lords of the Congregation was confirmed by the gratitude they felt for the assistance she had given them, as well as by the anxiety she had manifested in the negotiations to protect their interests and interpose her power between them and their offended Sovereign. In a letter to his mistress, Cecil justly observes, "that the treaty would be no small augmentation to her honour in this beginning of her reign, that it would finally procure that conquest of Scotland which none of her progenitors with all their battles ever obtained, namely, the whole hearts and goodwills of the nobility and people, which surely was better for England than the revenue of the Crown."[1]

That portion of the treaty which embraced the affairs of the Congregation is particularly worthy of notice, as it led to the full establishment of the Reformation, and is intimately connected with the subsequent course of events. It provided, that an Act

[1] Orig. Draft, St. P. Off. Cecil and Wotton to the Queen, 8th July, 1560. Also Titus, B. ii. fol. 451. MS. Letter, Lord Clinton to the Earl of Sussex.—"This peace is greatly to the Queen's honour and of these realms."

of oblivion should be passed for all wrongs or injuries committed, from the 6th of March, 1558, to the 1st of August 1560, and that a general peace and reconciliation of all differences should take place amongst the nobility and subjects of the land, including the members of the Congregation and those who still adhered to the Romish faith. The Duke of Chastelherault, and other Scottish nobles or barons, who possessed lands in France, were to be restored to their possessions; redress was to be given by Parliament to the bishops, and other churchmen who had received injury, and no man was to molest them in the collection of their revenues. For the better government of the realm, a council of twelve was to be constituted, of which the Queen was to appoint seven, and the estates five. It was to be their duty to take cognizance of every thing during the absence of their Sovereign, the Queen of France. No fewer than six were to assemble on any occasion, and the whole, or at least a majority were to meet upon all matters of moment. Peace and war were never to be declared without the concurrence of the Estates. It was anxiously provided, that in all time coming the Realm should be governed by its native subjects; no foreign troops were to be brought within the kingdom; no strangers to administer justice; none but Scotsmen to be placed in the high offices of Chancellor, Treasurer, or Comptroller, and all Ecclesiastics, although Scotsmen, were excluded from these two last dignities. The nobility

were interdicted from assembling soldiers or making any warlike convocations, except in such cases as were sanctioned by the established usage, and it was determined that the army of England should return home immediately after the embarkation of the French troops.[1] It was lastly agreed, that a Parliament should be held in the succeeding month of August, for which a commission was to be sent by the King and Queen of France, and it was added, that this meeting of the Estates should in all respects be as lawful as if the same had been convoked by command of those royal persons, provided only that all who ought to be present, resorted without fear to the Parliament, and that its proceedings were free and unfettered.[2]

The conclusion of this treaty by the French commissioners, Randan and the Bishop of Valence, was a great triumph to Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation. The French Cabinet had instructed their commissioners to beware of alluding, in the most distant manner, to the treaty of Berwick, which had been entered into between the reformers and England; and if they could not procure the consent of the Queen to the dissolution of this league, to be on their guard, at least, that no clause should be

[1] Spottiswood, p. 147. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 926. MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 26th June, 1560. Cecil to ——. Also MS. Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 422, 427.

[2] Forbes, vol. i. p. 432, St. P. Off. MS. Letter, Cecil to Elizabeth, Edin. 19th June, 1560.

introduced which should have the effect of including the leaders of the Protestants within the protection of the treaty. Baffled, however, in their diplomacy by the superior tactics of Cecil (whose cold, equable temper seems to have been seized with a fit of unusual exultation in alluding to the result), Randan and Monluc, contrary to their instructions, agreed to the insertion of a sentence which virtually protected the reformers, and preserved their treaty with Elizabeth. Nay, so wary had been the conduct of Wotton and Cecil, that, to use their own words, "even if the said treaty shall not remain in force, the special points tending to keep Frenchmen out of Scotland be well and assuredly provided for."[1] The reformed Lords were not tardy to acknowledge the great obligations conferred upon them by the issue to which Elizabeth had brought the negotiations. They addressed a letter to the Queen, containing the warmest expressions of gratitude, and acknowledged, that in providing for the security and liberty of Scotland, the realm was more bounden to her Majesty than to their own Sovereign.[2] Nor was this excess of gratitude at all unnatural. By the various provisions above detailed, it is evident that the Protestants had amply secured their own interests. One only objection existed to this part of the treaty, but it was a fatal one. The Commissioners of Mary

[1] Haynes, vol. i. p. 352.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 17th July, 1560. Haynes, vol. i. pp. 349, 351.

and Francis, had no authority from their Sovereign to enter into any negotiation with the Congregation, and the Queen of Scotland refused to be bound by an agreement to which she was no party.

It is remarkable that the treaty included no express provision on the subject of the reformed religion, whilst the bishops and ministers of the ancient faith were treated with uncommon lenity; their property restored, their persons protected, their right of sitting in Parliament acknowledged. The cause of all this is not difficult to discover. The assistance given by Elizabeth had no reference to religion. She had agreed to support the Protestants with her army, on the sole ground that they had taken arms to preserve the liberty of their country, and to expel the French, who, through Scotland, threatened her own dominions, and questioned her title to the throne. Individually, the Queen was not disposed to favor the religious views of the Congregation, whose ultra-Protestantism she regarded with aversion. Cecil, therefore, was instructed not to meddle with the subject, and the point was left open to be afterwards settled between the Reformers and their own Sovereign. Yet, in gaining the power to assemble a parliament, for which their Queen was to send over a Commission, and whose proceedings were to be esteemed as valid if called by her own writ, they obtained their utmost wishes. The great body of the people, the cities, burghs, and middle classes, were, they knew,

favorable to the Reformation; and they reckoned with confidence on a majority amongst the nobles, many of whom had already tasted the sweets of ecclesiastical plunder, and were little disposed to give up what they had won. For these reasons, although certain articles concerning religion were presented to the Commissioners on the part of the nobles and people of Scotland, their refusal to enter into discussion upon them does not appear to have occasioned either fear or disappointment. They looked to the Convention of Estates, which was so soon to meet, and felt confident that all would be there settled to their satisfaction.[1]

The treaty having been concluded and signed by the Commissioners, peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh (8th of July, 1560). Soon after the French army, consisting of four thousand men, were embarked in English ships for France; the English forces at the same time began their march homeward, and on reaching Dunbar, demolished the fortifications, according to the agreement. A solemn public thanksgiving was held by the reformed nobles and the greatest part of the Congregation in St. Giles's church, where the preacher, who was probably Knox, in a prayer preserved in his history, described the miseries of their country, lately groaning under the oppression of a foreign yoke and an abominable idolatrous worship. He acknowledged the mercy of God in sending, through the instrumentality of England, a deliverance which

[1] Keith, p. 142, Art. 17.

their own policy or strength could never have accomplished, called upon them all to maintain that godly league entered into with Elizabeth, and implored God to confound the counsels of those who endeavoured to dissolve it.[1] Ministers were then appointed to some of the chief towns in the kingdom, Knox being directed to continue his charge at Edinburgh, whilst Goodman was sent to St. Andrew's, Heriot to Aberbeen, Row to Perth, and others to Jedburgh, Dundee, Dumfermling, and Leith. Superintendents were next chosen for the districts of Lothian, Glasgow, Fife, Angus, and Mearns, and lastly for Argile and the Isles.[2]

On the 10th of July the Parliament assembled, to adjourn, as had been determined, to the 1st of August, on which day the proceedings were opened with great solemnity. So grave and important a meeting of this great Council of the nation had not taken place for many years, and the attendance of all ranks was, we know from Lethington, more numerous than had ever been seen in his time.[3] One cause of this crowded attendance was a proceeding adopted by the lesser Barons. Many of these persons, notwithstanding their right to sit and vote in the Assembly of the Three Estates, had ceased to claim their privilege. Indifference to public affairs, occupation upon their own demesnes

[1] Knox, pp. 251, 252. MS. Calderwood, p. 428, vol. i.

[2] Keith, p. 145.

[3] Original Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 15th August, 1560.

and the expense attendant on a journey to the capital, had occasioned their absence. But it was amongst these persons that the reformed doctrines had made the greatest progress, and aware that the subjects to be debated must involve the great religious principles in dispute between the Congregation and the Romanists, they attended in their places, and presented a petition, in which they prayed to be restored to their privilege, and to be allowed to give their counsel and vote in the Parliament. After some trifling opposition, they were permitted to take their seats, although a final decision on their claims does not appear to have been given. The accession, however, of so many votes (their number being a hundred), was of no small consequence to the Protestants, who were anxious that they should immediately proceed to the business of the Parliament. On this, however, there arose a serious difference of opinion. It was pleaded by many, that no Parliament could be held till the Commission arrived from their Sovereign, or at least till some reply was received to the message which had been sent to France, informing her of their proceedings.[1] Others alleged, that by one of the articles of the peace, it had been deter-

[1] It does not appear who were despatched on this mission to inform their sovereign. As late as the 9th of August 1560, the French King expressed to Throckmorton, the English ambassador, his surprise that he had heard nothing from his Commissioners, and affirmed that he had not yet seen the treaty of Edinburgh. The Bishop of Glasgow and the Lord Seton had arrived at Paris on the 3rd of August.—MS. Letter, St. P. Off. French Corr. Sir N. Throckmorton, 9th August, 1560.

mined that a meeting of the Three Estates should be held in August, which should be as lawful as if it were summoned by express command of their Queen, and the question having been put to the vote, it was decided that the Parliament should continue its sittings.[1] A week, however, was spent in the debate. Many, on learning the result, departed from the capital, and of the Spiritual Estate very few attended.

These preliminary questions having been settled, the crown, the mace and the sword were laid upon the seat or throne, usually occupied by the Queen;[2] and Maitland, who possessed great influence with the Congregation, being chosen Speaker (it was then termed "harangue maker,") opened the proceedings in an oration of which Randolph has given us the principal heads. He excused his insufficiency to occupy that place, made a brief discourse of things past, showed what necessity men were forced into for defence of their country; what remedy and support it had pleased God to send them, and how much they were bound heartily to acknowledge and requite it. He took away the persuasion which had then entered into many men's minds, that other things were intended than those which had been attempted; he advised all estates to renounce their individual feelings, and to bend themselves wholly to the true

[1] Spottiswood, p. 149.

[2] Keith, p. 149, erroneously states that the Royal Ensigns of the Kingdom were omitted to be carried into the Parliament.

service of God and their country, describing the miserable condition to which it had been long reduced for lack of good government and exercise of justice. He exhorted them to mutual amity and hearty friendship—one to live with another as members all of one body; using the example of the fable, "when the mouth, having quarrelled with the members, refused to receive sustenance for so long a time that the whole body perished." In conclusion, he prayed God long to maintain amity and peace with all princes, and especially betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, in the love and fear of God.[1] The Clerk of the Register now rose, and having inquired of the Three Estates, to what matter they would proceed; it was judged proper that the articles of the peace should be read over, which having been done, they received the unanimous approbation of the Assembly, and were directed to be sent over to France to receive the ratification of their Sovereign. The Lords of the Articles were next chosen, the order of which, says Randolph, "is, that the Lords Spiritual choose the Temporal, and the Temporal the Spiritual—the Burgesses their own."[1] Great complaint was here made by the Prelates, that in the selection of the Lords Spiritual, none were chosen but such as were known to be well affected to the new religion, nor was it unnoticed that some upon

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 9th and 10th Aug. 1560.

whom the choice had fallen, were mere laymen. So great was the majority, however, of the friends of the Congregation, that it was impossible to have redress. "This being done," says Randolph, in an interesting letter to Cecil, where he describes the proceedings of the parliament, "the Lords departed, and accompanied the Duke as far as the Bow, which is the gate going out of the high street, and many down unto the palace where he lieth; the town all in armour, the trumpets sounding, and all other kinds of music, such as they have. Other solemnities have not been used, saving in times long past the Lords have had parliament robes, which are now with them wholly out of use; the Lords of the Articles sat from henceforth in Holyrood-house, except that at such times as upon any matter of importance, the whole Lords assembled themselves again as they did this day in the Parliament House."[1]

Having proceeded thus far, a petition was presented to the Parliament by some of the most zealous of the reformers. It prayed, that the doctrines professed by the Romish Church, and tyrannically maintained by the clergy, should be condemned and abolished, and amongst the errors it particularly enumerated; transubstantiation, adoration of Christ's body under the form of bread, the merit of works, purgatory, pilgrimages, and prayers to departed saints.

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 9th and 10th Aug. 1560.

It declared, that God of his great mercy, by the light of his word, had demonstrated to no small number within the realm, the pestiferous errors of the Roman Church; errors which the ministers of that Church had maintained by fire and sword, bringing damnation upon the souls that embraced them. It stated, that the sacraments of our Lord were shamefully abused by that Roman harlot by whom the true discipline of the Church was extinguished; and proceeded to give an appalling picture, in strong and somewhat coarse language, of the corrupt lives of those who called themselves the clergy. Embracing the whole Papal Church in one sweeping anathema, the petitioners offered to prove, that "in all the rabble of the Clergy," there was not one lawful minister, if the word of God, and the practices of the Apostles and primitive Church, were to be taken as authority upon this point; it denominated them, thieves and murderers, rebels, traitors, and adulterers; living in all manner of abominations, and unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth. Lastly, using that blessed name, which ought to be the bond of love and charity, as an incitement to railing and persecution, it called upon the Parliament, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to employ the victory which they had obtained, with wholesome vigour; to compel the body of the Romish clergy to answer these accusations now brought against them, to pronounce them unworthy of authority in the Church of God, and expel them for ever from having a voice or vote in the great Council of

the nation, which, it continued, if ye do not, we forewarn you, in the fear of God, and by assurance of his word, that as ye leave a grievous yoke and a burden intolerable upon the Church of God within this realm, so shall they be thorns in your eyes, and pricks in your sides, whom afterwards when ye would ye shall have no power to remove. In conclusion, it boldly declared that this extraordinary petition was not their's but God's, who craved this by his servants, and it prayed Him to give them an upright heart and a right understanding of the requests made through them.[1]

The names of those who signed this violent production, which it is difficult to read without emotions of sorrow and pity, do not appear. Knox, whose fiery zeal flamed high at this period, seized the sitting of the Parliament as a proper season for a course of sermons on the prophecies of Haggai, in which he tells us, he was peculiarly "special and vehement," the doctrine being proper to the times.[2] Many of the nobles, however, who had prospered upon the plunder of the Church, demurred to the sentiments of the preacher, when he exhorted them to restore their lands for the support of the ministers; and Lethington, exclaimed in mockery, "We must now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow to build the house of God."[3] Yet, although some were thus

[1] MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 430. Knox, p. 254.

[2] Knox, p. 254.

[3] Ibid. The name is suppressed in the printed Knox.

foolish, others of the barons and burgesses assembled, and we are informed by Knox, that the petition emanated from them. There can be no doubt that it received the sanction, if it was not the composition of the Reformer.

On being read in Parliament, this petition occasioned a great diversity of sentiment: to the sincere Romanist it appeared an impious denouncement of all that he esteemed sacred, and even the more moderate of those who had embraced the tenets of the Reformation might well doubt whether it was not calculated to inflame rather than to heal the wounds it proposed to cure; still there can be little doubt, that as the great majority in the parliament supported the changes proposed, it would have been favourably received, but for one circumstance which touched some of the highest and most influential of the Protestant leaders. It called upon them to restore the patrimony of the Church, of which they had unjustly possessed themselves, to the uses for which it was originally destined; the support of the ministers, the restoration of godly learning, and the assistance of the poor. This, according to Knox, was unpalateable doctrine to the nobles, who for worldly respects abhorred a perfect reformation.[1] Waving therefore the practical part of the question, and retaining for the present the wealth they had won, the majority of the parliament commanded the ministers to draw up a Confession of their faith, or a

[1] Knox, p. 252.

brief summary of those doctrines which they conceived wholesome, true, and necessary to be believed,[1] and received within the realm. This solemn and arduous task was achieved apparently with extraordinary rapidity; but although only four days were employed in its preparation, it is evident that the Confession of Faith embodied the results of much previous study and consultation. It is a clear and admirable summary of christian doctrine, grounded on the word of God. On most essential points, it approximates indefinitely near, and in many instances, uses the very words of the Apostles Creed and the Articles of the Church of England, as established by Edward the Sixth. Thus, in the section on Baptism, the Scottish Confession of Faith declares, "We assuredly believe, that by baptism *we are ingrafted into Jesus Christ*, to be made partakers of his justice, by the which our sins are covered and remitted." Compare this with the article of Edward the Sixth and of Elizabeth "of Baptism." It is there said to be a sign, not only of profession, but of regeneration, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly, "*are grafted into the Church.*" Again, of the Lord's Supper, the Scottish Confession of Faith declares, "We most assuredly believe, that the bread that we break is the Communion of Christ's Body, and the cup which we bless is the Communion of his Blood, so that we do confess and believe that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's

[1] Spottiswood, p. 150.

table, so do eat the body, and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remaineth in them and they in him." In the articles of Edward the Sixth, the same precise words are used. Indeed it is worthy of remark, that in these holy mysteries of our faith, this Confession, drawn up by the primitive Scottish reformers, keeps in some points at a greater distance from the rationalizing of ultra Protestantism than the Articles of Edward. But to return, before the authors of the Confession agreed finally on every point it should embrace, the treatise was submitted to the revisal of the Secretary Lethington, and the Sub-Prior of St. Andrew's, who mitigated the austerity of many words and sentences, and expunged a chapter on the limits of the obedience due by subjects to their magistrates, which they considered improper to be then discussed. So at least, says Randolph, but it is certain that a chapter "Of the Civil Magistrate," forms a portion of the Confession of Faith as it is printed by Knox,[1] and that it not only prescribes in clear and strong terms, the obedience due by subjects to princes, governors, and magistrates, as powers ordained by God, but pronounces all who attempt to abolish the "Holy State of Civil Policies," as enemies alike to God and man.

When thus finished, this important paper was laid before Parliament; but all disputation upon its doctrines appears to have been waved by a mutual understanding, that on the one side it was unnecessary,

[1] Knox's Hist. p. 270. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 7th Sept. 1560, Randolph to Cecil.

and on the other it would be unavailing. The Romanists knew that against them was arrayed a violent and overwhelming majority; so keen were the feelings of some of their leaders, that the Duke of Chastelherault had threatened his brother, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with death if he dared to exert himself against it,[1] nor is it by any means improbable, that similar arguments had been used with other dignitaries. Of the Temporal Peers present, alone dissented the Earls of Cassillis and Caithness; of the Spiritual, the Primate, with the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dumblane. Time, they said, had not been given them to examine the book: they were ready to give their consent to all things which were sanctioned by the word of God, and to abolish the abuses which had crept into the Church, but they requested some delay that the debate upon a question which branched into so many intricate, profound, and important subjects, might be carried on with due study and deliberation.[2] To these sensible and moderate representations, no attention appears to have been paid, the treatise was laid upon the table, the Bishops were called upon to oppugn it upon the instant, and having declined the contest,

[1] Keith, pp. 150, 487.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 18th August, 1560. Lethington to Cecil. In the letter of Randolph to Cecil, quoted below (Note 1), he says, "of the Temporal Lords, the Earl of Cassillis, and the Earl of Caithness, said "Nae"; the rest of the Lords with common consent allowed the same." Yet Spottiswood (p. 150) mentions Athol, Borthwick, and Somerville, as dissentient.

the consent of the Parliament was given almost by acclamation; some of the Lords, in the enthusiasm of the moment, declared they would sooner end their lives than think contrary to these doctrines; many offered to shed their blood in the cause. The Earl Marshall, with indignant sarcasm, called upon the Bishops, as the pillars of the Papal Church, to defend the tenets of their master, and the venerable Lord Lindsay, rising up in his place, and alluding to his extreme age, declared that since God had spared him to see that day, and the accomplishment of so worthy a work, he was ready with Simeon to say, "nunc dimittis."[1]

This Confession having been sanctioned by parliament, as the standard of the Protestant faith in Scotland, it was thought proper to complete the work by passing three Acts. The first abolished for ever in that country the power and jurisdiction of the Pope; the second repealed all former statutes passed in favour of the Romish Church; the third ordained that all who said mass, or who dared to hear mass, should, for the first trangression, be punished with confiscation of goods; for the second, incur the penalty of banishment from the kingdom; and if guilty of a third offence, be put to death. Few blessings have been of slower growth in Europe than religious toleration. The same men who had groaned so lately under persecution, who upbraided their Romish brethren, and with perfect justice, for the

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil 19th. Aug. 1560.

tyranny of maintaining their errors by fire and sword, now injured the cause they advocated by similar severities, and compelled the reception of what they pronounced the truth, under the penalty of death.

In these transactions, Randolph, who was now resident in Edinburgh, in the character of Elizabeth's envoy at the Scottish Court, took a prominent part. The spirit in which he carried on his intrigues will be understood from a passage in one of his letters relating to a subject about to be brought before the parliament—the signing the contract made between Elizabeth and the Congregation at Berwick. "The Bishop of Dumblane," says he, "is also now come; it is not to reason upon religion, but to do, as I hear, whatsoever the Earl of Argile will command him. If God have prepared him and his Metropolitan to die obstinate Papists, yet I would wish that before they go to the devil, they would show some token that once in their lives they loved their country, and set their hands to the contract, as hardly I believe they will."[1] These uncharitable and intolerant feelings, however, were not cherished against the Romish prelates alone. It was the opinion of many of the leaders of the Reformation now in progress in Scotland, that the hierarchy of England, as established under Elizabeth, was nearly as corrupt as Rome itself. In a letter addressed by Goodman, originally a minister of the English Church, but now one of the

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to ———, Cecil I believe, but the name does not certainly appear. 15th August, 1560.

most active preachers of the Congregation, to Cecil, he exhorted that powerful statesman to "abolish all the relics of superstition and idolatry which, to the grief and scandal of the godly, were still retained in England, and (alluding probably to Bonner and Gardiner) not to suffer the bloody Bishops and known murderers of God's people and your dear brethren to live, upon whom God hath expressly pronounced the sentence of death, for the execution of which he nath committed the sword into your hands, who are now placed in authority." It was this delay, he declared, this leniency in Cecil (who was happily not animated by the same fiery spirit of persecution which guided the proceedings of Goodman), that sticketh most in the hearts of many.[1]

The "Confession of Faith" having been passed in Parliament, the clergy next proceeded to compose a "Book of Discipline," for the future government of the Church. Into the contents of this celebrated form of church polity, it is of course impossible to enter at any length; but it is important to remark, that it committed the election of ministers solely to the people, using the precaution that the person so chosen, before he was admitted to the holy office, should be examined by the ministers and elders openly upon all points then in controversy between the Church of Rome and the Congregation, and generally upon the whole extent of sound Christian

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Goodman to Cecil, 26th October, 1559.

doctrine. Such having been done, the person elected and approved of, was to be considered an ordained minister, and to be publicly introduced by his brethren to his congregation in the church to which he was appointed, it being expressly declared, "that any other ceremonies than the approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister, that the person presented is appointed to serve," are not approved of by the Congregation; for albeit, they add, the Apostles used the imposition of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased, the using the ceremony we judge not to be necessary. The same form appointed "Readers" to such churches as, owing to the rarity of learned and godly men, could not immediately be provided with ministers. It was their office simply to read the Common Prayers and the Scriptures, not to administer the sacraments. Lastly, the country was divided into ten diocesses, and over them were appointed ten ministers, who were named Superintendents. These were not to be "suffered to live idle, as the bishops had done heretofore," neither were they to be stationary, but to be ambulatory preachers, continuing about three or four months in one place, after which they were to enter into a visitation of their whole bounds, preaching thrice a week at the least, and not intermitting their labours until the churches were wholly planted. They were directed to inquire into the life and behaviour of the ministers, the manners of the people, the provision for the poor, and the instruction of the youth; and under this last head may be noticed, as first appearing

in this "Book of Discipline," that wise and admirable institution of Parish Schools, to which Scotland has owed so much of her prosperity. "It was necessary," such are nearly the words of the Congregation, "that care should be had of the virtuous and godly education of the youth, wherefore it was judged in every parish to have a proper Schoolmaster, able to teach at least the Grammar and Latin tongue, where the town was of any reputation." But it adds, "in landwart (that is country parishes), where the people convened to doctrine only once in the week, there must either the reader or the minister take care of the youth of the parish, to instruct them in their rudiments, and especially in the Catechism of Geneva."[1]

This Book of Discipline was almost as bitterly opposed as the Confession had been warmly and unanimously supported. Some of the nobles and barons positively refused to subscribe it; others signed it, but eluded its injunctions; others, who dreaded the punishment of their vices or the curtailing of their revenues, mocked at its provisions and pronounced them devout imaginations. "The cause," says Knox, "we have before declared. Some were licentious, some had greedily griped the possessions of the Church, and others thought that they would not lack their part of Christ's coat. * * The chief great man" he continues "that professed Christ and refused to subscribe the Book of Discipline, was the Lord Erskine. And no wonder, for besides that he

[1] Spottiswood, p. 154—160 inclusive.

had a very evil woman to his wife, if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the Church had their own, his kitchen would lack two parts and more of that which he now unjustly possesseth. Assuredly some of us have wondered how men that profess godliness could of so long continuance hear the threatenings of God against thieves and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty in such things as were openly rebuked, that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore anything of that which long they had stolen and reft. There were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than those which had the greatest rents of the churches."[1]

But if severe to the Protestant clergy, the parliament was still more decisive against the Romish prelates. Of these, many who considered the meeting illegal absented themselves. Others took their seats, and having protested against the injustice of excluding them from being chosen Lords of the Articles, declined all interference with the proceedings. A bill of complaint was then presented by the Barons against them, "containing," says Randolph, "rather a general accusation of all living bishops, than any special crime that they were burdened with." To this apparently no answer was returned: the Bishops of Dumblane, St. Andrew's, and Dunkeld, were specially called upon to pursue their complaint, and as they neglected to appear, a decree was passed

[1] Knox, p. 276.

for the "stay of their livings."[1] But this was not all. The Romish prelates, in their anxiety to preserve their estates from the grasp of the Barons of the Congregation, had adopted the expedient of granting conveyances, or leases of their lands, to those who agreed to pay them the rents, and to reconvey them to their original proprietors in more prosperous times. Against these alleged alienations of the estates of the Church, which had been sanctioned by the Pope, the Parliament directed its censure, ordaining that all such leases should be void without further process of law.[2]

One of the last subjects which occupied the attention of the parliament, was the selection of the twenty-four members, out of which number the Council of Twelve was to be chosen. It was scarcely to be expected that the choice should be impartial. Yet, although care was taken to include all the principal leaders of the Congregation, it embraced some of the opposite party. It consisted of the Duke, the Earl of Arran, the Earls of Huntly, Argile, Glencairn, Morton, Athole, Menteith, Marshall, and Rothes. The Lords James, Erskine, Ruthven, Lindesay, Boyd, Ogilvy, St. John, and the Master of Maxwell; the Lairds of Lundy, Pitarrow, Doun, Cunninghamhead, Drumlanrig, and young Lethington;[3] and it was appointed that until the Commission from the

[1] Orig. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 27th August, 1560. Keith, p. 151.

[2] Keith, pp. 151, 152.

[3] Keith, from a work entitled "Memoirs of Scotland," vol. i. fol. 168, preserved in the Scots College at Paris, now unfortunately lost amongst the MSS. of that ancient house.

King and Queen's Majesty had been sent from France, and the part which they had chosen was openly declared, six of the former Council should sit continually in Edinburgh, for the administration of justice. If, however, any measure of importance involving the general interests of the kingdom was brought before them, no fewer than sixteen of the above number were bound to attend. The treaty of Berwick, which had been entered into between Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation was next confirmed,[1] and it was proposed that, as the surest basis of a perpetual amity between the two realms, an overture for a marriage between the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Chastelherault, heir apparent to the throne, and Queen Elizabeth should be sent to England. It was earnestly recommended by Lethington, that until they understood in what manner Cecil was affected towards this measure, no hasty proceedings should take place, but although much disunion existed on other subjects, a singular unanimity appears to have here pervaded the assembly; and it was resolved, "that suit should be made to the Queen of England, in the best manner, that it may please her Majesty, for the establishing of a perpetual friendship, to join in marriage with the Earl of Arran."[2] It was, last of all, determined that Sir James

[1] The Lord James, for himself and the contractors, protested that they might have an instrument that this their act was allowed to be good, lawful, and not prejudicial to the Crown of Scotland. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 27th August, 1560.

[2] Original MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 18th August, 1560. Also, Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 605.

Sandilands of Calder, Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, within Scotland, should carry an account of their proceedings to France, whilst Lethington, with the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, should be sent on the same errand to Elizabeth. Having brought these important proceedings to a conclusion, the Parliament was dissolved on the 27th of August.[1]

On his arrival at the French Court, Sir James Sandilands[2] was received with the utmost coldness. Nor could the Congregation have expected it to be otherwise. He brought intelligence to the Queen of Scotland, that without waiting for her ratification of the treaty concluded by her Commissioners, or giving her time to send her Commission for the calling a Parliament, the Three Estates had assembled of their own authority, and by a series of acts more sweeping than any that had ever passed in the preceding history of the country, had introduced innovations which it was impossible could be regarded without alarm—they had overturned the established religion, and let loose against all who ventured to adhere to the belief of their fathers, the fury of religious persecution, they had entered into a league with another kingdom, and, as if conscious of the illegal nature of

[1] Keith is at a loss to know how long they sat after the 24th. The point is settled by a letter of Lethington to Cecil, MS. St. P. Off., Orig. 27th August 1560.—"Although our Parliament be not ended, it is for the present on good respects dissolved."

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 7th Sep. 1560. "The Lord St. John departeth, as it is said, the 12th of this present."

their proceedings, had attempted to protect themselves against the punishment of the laws, by giving a pretended parliamentary sanction to the most violent of their measures. The truth of these assertions could not be denied, and when the young Queen and her advisers, the Guises, contrasted the conduct of the Parliament towards Elizabeth, with the manner in which they treated their Sovereign, to whom they pretended all loyalty and affection, they could not fail to be mortified with the difference. So completely were English interests predominant in the assembly of the Estates, that Lethington and Murray in all important measures received the advice of Elizabeth and her Ministers; and so far was this carried, that Cecil drew up and transmitted to them the scroll of the act, which was to be passed in their assembly.[1] In an interview which took place soon after Sandiland's arrival, between Throckmorton, the English Ambassador, and the Cardinal Lorraine, the feelings of this proud minister upon the subject were strongly intimated: "I will tell you frankly," said the Cardinal, "the Scots, the King's subjects, do perform no part of their duties; the King and the Queen have the name of their Sovereigns, and your mistress hath the effect and the obedience. They would bring the realm to a republic, and say, in their words, they are

[1] MS. Letter. St. P. Off., 29th Aug. 1560. Lethington to Cecil. It appears by this letter, that Cecil had framed the draft of an act for the Scottish Parliament, confirming the treaty of Berwick, but it came too late. Their own act, however, was the same in substance, and almost in words.

the King's subjects—to tell you of the particular disorders, were too long, every man doth what he lists. All this is too far out of order, and when fault is found with them, they threaten the King with the aid of the Queen, your mistress. Let your mistress either make them obedient subjects, or let her rid her hands of them, for rather than they shall be at this point, the King will quit all. They have made a league with the Queen, your mistress, without us—what manner of dealing is this of subjects. Thereupon it is they bear themselves so proudly.* * They have sent hither a mean man, in post to the King and Queen, their sovereigns, and to the Queen, your mistress, a great and solemn legation. * * This great legation, quoth he, goeth for the marriage of the Queen, your mistress, with the Earl of Arran. What shall she have with him? I think her heart too great to marry with such a one as he is; and one of the Queen's subjects."[1] Immediately after this, the English Ambassador was admitted to an audience of the young Queen of France. It is interesting to observe Mary's first appearance: Throckmorton entreated her to ratify the treaty, and complained that this had been too long deferred.—"Such answer," said the young Queen, "as the King, my lord and husband and his Council hath made you in that matter, might suffice; but, because you shall know I have reason to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me

[1] MS. Letter, original, St. P. Off.; Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 17th Nov. 1560.

to refuse to ratify the treaty: my subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one point that belongeth unto them. I am their Queen, and so they call me, but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them, and though I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few that be there on my party, were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings, after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all, to the King and me, in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress—I am their Sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duties." "In this speech," continues Throckmorton, "the Queen uttered some choler and stomach against them. I said, as to the Lord of St. John, I know him not; but he is Great Prior of Scotland, and you know by others what rank that estate hath, equal to any Earl within your realm.—The Queen answered, I do not take him for Great Prior, for he is married; I marvel how it happeneth they could send other manner of men to your mistress.—I said, madame, I have heard that if your Majesty do proceed graciously with the Lord St. John, in observation of all that which was by the Bishop of Valence and Mons. de Randan promised in the King's and your name, the nobles and states of Scotland do mind to send unto the King and you, a

greater legation. — Then the King and I, quoth she, must begin with them. — Madam, quoth I, I am sorry the ratification of the treaty is refused for that matter, together with other injuries offered to the Queen, my mistress (as, contrary to the express articles of the treaty, the King and you do bear openly the arms of England,) will give the Queen, my mistress, occasion, greatly to suspect your well meaning unto her.—Mine Uncles, quoth she, have sufficiently answered you in this matter; and for your part I pray you, do the office of a good Minister betwixt us, and so shall you do well. And so," concludes Throckmorton, "the Queen dismissed me, and Mons. de Lansac brought me to my horse."[1]

When it is recollected that the young Queen was now only sixteen, it must be admitted, that in this conversation with one of the ablest ministers of Elizabeth, she acquitted herself with uncommon spirit and good sense. Nor can we blame either her or the Guises, for their steady refusal to ratify the treaty. Her Commissioners, Monluc and Randan had received positive instructions from Mary to treat with England, but not to include her Scottish subjects, or recognise their league with Elizabeth; yet they suffered themselves to be overreached by the crafty diplomacy of Cecil, and not only included them, but virtually recognised their whole proceedings. En-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, 17th Nov. 1560. The letter, which has never been printed, is a most interesting one.

couraged by this, the Protestants had assembled a Parliament, had adjourned for so short a period that it was impossible for the ratification and commission of their Sovereign to arrive, had hurried forward its proceedings—formed a council of regency, composed chiefly of those who were opposed to France—entered anew into the league with England, and lastly, had directed to that country an embassy, the object of which was to place themselves under the guidance and protection of Elizabeth. When the Lord St. John arrived, therefore, and in the name of the Congregation requested the Queen to confirm these proceedings, we need not be surprised that he met with a positive and somewhat peremptory refusal. But although Mary complained of his inferior rank, as compared with Glencairn, Morton and Lethington, the Ambassadors to England, St. John was received with courtesy. He was admitted to an audience with the young Queen and the Cardinal of Lorraine, exhorted with earnestness to act the part of an upright minister between his Sovereign and her subjects, and dismissed with a letter addressed by the King and Queen to the Estates of Scotland.[1] Before his

[1] Letter, MS. St. P. Off., French Corr. 17th Nov. 1560, and 28th Nov. 1560. I am the more careful to note the manner of his reception and dismissal—which I take from Throckmorton, who was on the spot, and in daily intercourse with him—because it has been erroneously stated, that "the Cardinal of Lorraine loaded him with reproaches, accused him of perjury, denominated his friends execrable heretics, and dismissed him without an answer." This is the account of Dr. Cook, (Reform. vol. ii. pp. 341, 342.) who was misled

departure, however, Sandilands, alarmed at the prospects of the Congregation, had a private interview with the English Ambassador, in which he entreated him to recommend "the ordering of their affairs in Scotland" to the English Queen, observing, that unless she undertook the management, he foresaw that they would inevitably fall out amongst themselves, and be undone.[1]

The secret policy of France at this period towards Scotland, was watched and detectedby Throckmorton with much ability. The Guises had resolved at present to remain at peace, and wait till they discovered in what manner Elizabeth received the embassy, proposing to her a marriage with Arran. If she declined the match, and treated the overtures of the Protestants with coldness, they determined to sow jealousies between the Reformers and their patroness —to persuade the Scots, that she had acted solely from a desire to aggrandize herself, and induce them to continue the old amity with France. With this

by Keith, whilst Keith was himself misled by Buchanan. Contrast this with the following passage from Throckmorton's Letter of 28th Nov. 1560, to Queen Elizabeth. "The Lord St. John had his dépesche here the 26th of this month. He took not his leave of the King, by reason of his indisposition, but of the Queen, and the Cardinal Lorraine; he had very good words, and was required to use the part and office of a good Minister towards the Estates of Scotland, and of a good subject towards his Sovereigns. He hath a letter from the King and Queen to the said Estates, the copy whereof, I send your Majesty herewith."

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 28th Nov. 1560.

view, they proposed to detach Arran from the Congregation by high offers: he was to marry a daughter of France, to be made lieutenant for the King and Queen in Scotland, to have the whole revenue of that realm for his entertainment, and to want nothing but the name of a king.[1] If, on the other hand, they found the Queen disposed to follow the advice of Cecil, and entertain the league of mutual friendship and defence with Scotland, they had projected to weaken the Congregation, by creating jealousies amongst its leaders, to sow dissension between Arran and the Lord James, and to bestow the whole of the benefices and offices of the kingdom in raising a party against England. To traverse these schemes, the English Ambassador advised Elizabeth to employ Clark, one of the archers of the French Guard, a subtle and intriguing agent of his, who had been bred up as a spy in France; he accordingly left that country with letters of recommendation to the Queen, and being sent into Scotland, pursued his treacherous vocation with great activity and success.[2]

Although the policy of the Guisian faction was for the moment watchful and pacific, their motive was merely to gain time, their main purpose continued the same as before, the destruction of the party of the Reformation in Europe. To put down the Huguenots in France, to encourage the Romanists

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. 10th Oct. 1560, Throckmorton to the Lords of the Council.

[2] MS. Letter. French Corr. St. P. Off., Throckmorton to the Queen, 28th Nov. 1560.

in England and Scotland, to sow dissensions amongst the Protestant princes of Germany, to support the Council of Trent, now sitting, and in a word to concentrate the whole strength of France, Spain, Italy, and the Empire against that great moral and religious revolution, by which light and truth were struggling to break in upon a system of long established error, was the main object to which they directed their efforts.

Under the Regency of the Queen Dowager, the affairs of Scotland had been entrusted principally to D'Osell, a man of talent and a good officer, but rash, and overbearing. On the return, however, of Monluc, Bishop of Valence, with Martignes to the French Court, after their negotiations, D'Osell, who it was generally supposed would have the chief voice in Scottish affairs, lost the royal favour, and found himself entirely passed over. The cause of his disgrace, as stated by Throckmorton, in a letter to Elizabeth, presents us with an appalling picture of the dark policy of the Guises. At the commencement of the religious troubles in Scotland, the Bishop of Amiens, De la Brosse, and Martignes advised the Queen Dowager to dissemble with the Congregation, to call a Parliament at Leith or Edinburgh, and having got the chief leaders under one roof, to seize and put to death the most violent.[1] The Queen Regent revolted from so base a proposal, and D'Osell compelled his less scrupulous associates to abandon it. But he now reaped the consequences; the Prelate arraigned him as the origin of all the ill

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to the Queen, 10th October, 1560.

success in Scotland, and he found himself deprived of the favour of his Sovereign.[1]

At this interesting crisis, when the Congregation regarded with anxiety the designs which were meditating against them, when Elizabeth hesitated upon the expediency of continuing to give them her active support, and the Guises waited only "till they had got money in their purses to follow their enterprises,"[2] an event took place which drew after it important changes. The young French King, Francis the Second, who had for some time laboured under a languishing state of health, expired at Orleans on the 6th of December.[3] His youthful consort, the Scottish Queen, by whom he was ardently beloved, had watched over him with devoted care and affection, and for some time appeared inconsolable; but the energy of her character soon recovered its ascendancy, and recalled her to the duties she had to perform, and the difficulties by which she was surrounded. Throckmorton, an eye-witness of her behaviour, soon after the event, addressed the following letter to the Council, which contains an interesting view, not only of the character of the young Queen, but a sketch, by the hand of a master, of the position of parties, and the

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. French Corr, Throckmorton to the Queen, 10th Oct. 1560. Poissy.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Office, French Corr., 10th Oct. 1560. Throckmorton to the Council.

[3] I note the day, as it is differently stated by our general historians. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. 6th Dec. 1560. Throckmorton to Elizabeth. "The 6th of this present, at 11 o'Clock of the night, he departed to God."

projected policy of England. " My very good Lords, now that God hath thus disposed of the late French King, whereby the Scottish Queen is left a widow, in my simple judgment, one of the special things your Lordships have to consider, and to have an eye to, is the marriage of that Queen. During her husband's life there was no great account made of her, for that being under band of marriage, and subjection of her husband, who carried the burden and care of all her matters, there was offered no great occasion to know what was in her. But since her husband's death, she hath showed, and so continueth, that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgment, in the wise handling herself and her matters; which increasing in her with her years, cannot but turn to her commendation, reputation, honour, and great benefit of her and her country. And already it appeareth that some such as made no great account of her, do now, seeing her wisdom, both honour and pity her.

" Immediately upon her husband's death, she changed her lodging, withdrew herself from all company, became so solitary and exempt of all worldliness, that she doth not to this day see daylight, and thus will continue out forty days. For the space of fifteen days after the death of her said husband, she admitted no man to come unto her chamber, but the King, his brethren, the King of Navarre, the Constable, and her uncles. About four or five days after that, she was content to admit some bishops, and the ancient knights of the order, and none of the younger,

saving Martignes, who having done her good service, and married the chief gentlewoman of her chamber, had so much favour showed him among the rest. The Ambassadors also were lastly admitted, as they came, who have been all with her to condole, saving I, which I have forborn to do, knowing not the Queen's Majesty's pleasure in that behalf.

"Amongst others, the Ambassador of Spain hath been with her above an hour together, which is thought to be for more than the ceremony of condoling required. He hath also since that time dined, and had great conference with the Cardinal of Lorraine, and though I cannot yet think that it be about any matter of marriage for her with the Prince of Spain—for I think the Council of Spain too wise to think upon it without other commodity—yet, it is not amiss to hearken to the matter, for she, using herself as she beginneth, will make herself to be beloved, and to lack no good means of offers. But to conclude herein, as long as the matter shall be well handled in England, and that now, in time, good occasions be not let pass, the King of Spain will have little mind that way. As for my part, I see her behaviour to be such, and her wisdom and queenly modesty so great, in that she thinketh herself not too wise, but is content to be ruled by good counsel and wise men, (which is a great virtue in a Prince or Princess, and which argueth a great judgment and wisdom in her) that by these means she cannot do amiss. And I cannot but fear her proceedings with the time, if any means be left, and offered her to take advantage by.

"I understand very credibly, that the said Scottish Queen is desirous to return into Scotland; marry, she would so handle the matter as that the desire should not seem nor appear to come of herself, nor of her seeking, but by the request and suit of the subjects of Scotland. To compass which device she hath sent one Robert Lesly (who pretendeth title to the Earldom of Rothes) into Scotland, to work by such as are hers; and besides them, doubteth nothing to procure to her a good many of those that were lately against her; and among others, she holdeth herself sure of the Lord James, and of all the Stewards, wholly to be at her devotion. She mistrusteth none but the Duke of Chastelherault and his party, and besides these, she nothing doubteth to assure to her, with easy persuasions, the whole, or the most part of those that carried themselves indifferently as neuters all this while, who are thought to be many besides the common people. And now to have their Queen home, will altogether, she thinketh, lean and incline to her. Upon request, thus to be made to her by these nobles, requiring to have her return; she will demand that the principal forts and holds of the realm be delivered into her hands, or to such for her as she will appoint, to the end that she may be more assured against the evil meaning of the hollow hearted, or such as fear the worst towards themselves. She doth also work that those that shall thus request her to come into Scotland, shall offer and promise all obedience and duty belonging to loving and obedient subjects, whom she will, for her part, recompense, by all the favour, assurance, and bene-

volence, that a Prince can promise and owe to good subjects. This matter, my Lords, being worth good consideration, I leave to your Lordships' grave wisdoms to consider of it."[1]

The news of the young King's death was received by the party of the Congregation in Scotland with extraordinary exultation. The Ministers not only justly considered the event as a great deliverance, but in the intolerant spirit of the times, represented it as a special judgment inflicted upon an infidel and stubborn Prince.[2] Throckmorton, with greater charity, called upon his royal mistress to thank God, who by these incomprehensible means had provided for her surety and quietness.[3] Lethington, with the quick prospective glance of a statesman, pronounced that the King's death must have the effect of changing materially the line of their policy;[4] whilst the leaders of the opposite parties, which had so long separated the state, transmitted assurances of fidelity, and offers of service, to their youthful Sovereign.

[1] Letter, MS. St. P. Off. French Corr. Throckmorton to the Council, 31st, Dec, 1560.

[2] When all things, says Knox, were in readiness to shed the blood of innocents; the Eternal, our God, who ever watcheth for the preservation of his own, began to work, and suddenly did put his own work in execution, for as the King sat at mass, he was suddenly struck with an aposthume in that deaf ear which would never hear the truth of God. * * * When his glory perished, and the pride of his stubborn heart vanished in smoke.—Knox, p. 280.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. French Corresp. Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 6th Dec. 1560.

[4] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Lethington to Cecil, 6th Feb. 1560-1, Scots' Corr.

In the meantime, all agreed that a Parliament must be summoned, and the Three Estates having assembled at Edinburgh on the 16th of January, Lord St. John, who had been overtaken on his journey by the news of the King's death, laid before them the letter with which he had been entrusted by their Sovereign and her late husband. It informed them that their envoy had assured her of their earnest wish to remain faithful and obedient subjects, but in the account which she had received of the proceedings of their late assembly, (so she termed the Parliament in which they had established the reformed faith) she lamented to observe, how far their conduct had deviated from their professions. Yet so anxious was she for their return to their duty, that she had resolved to despatch two noble persons as her envoys into Scotland, bearing her commission to convene a legal Parliament, in which their requests should be fully considered, and their faults buried and forgotten.[1]

It was evident to the Lords of the Congregation, that the King's death, which happened three weeks after this letter was written, must have the effect of altering, in a great degree, the mutual relations between them and their Sovereign; they saw, at the same time, that much would depend upon the policy of England, and they therefore turned with anxiety to receive the reply of Elizabeth to their late em-

[1] MS. Letter, Copy, St. P. Off., Orleans, 16th Nov. 1560.

bassy.[1] It was favourable, so far as she assured them that their thankful acceptance of her assistance, and the good fruits which had resulted from it, would encourage her to proffer the same aid, should they ever require it in their defence. She declined the offer of marriage with the Earl of Arran, but in terms sufficiently flattering to the Estates, and to himself, acknowledging their goodwill in offering to her the choicest person whom they had, and pronouncing him a noble gentleman of great worthiness: she concluded by earnestly recommending unanimity amongst themselves, warning them of the practices which might still be attempted against them, and (with a glance towards France) declared her readiness to enter into a common defence against any common enemy.[2]

Having weighed these answers, it was determined by the Parliament that their Sovereign, who was now unfettered by any ties to France, should be invited to return to her own dominions, and that her brother, the Lord James, the chief leader of the Congregation, should instantly proceed as an Ambassador to that kingdom, to declare their wishes uponthis point. It might have been imagined that this potent person who had made himself so obnoxious to the Guisian

[1] The Ambassadors returned 3d January. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 3d Jan. 1560-1.

[2] Calig. B. x. fol. 133. A Copy from the original in Lord Burghley's hand. 8th Dec. 1560. Printed in Keith, p. 156.

faction would have declined this dangerous mission. But although sufficiently delicate, and difficult, there were circumstances which convinced him, that if he was to retain the power he now possessed, he must embrace it. The Earl of Huntly, the head of the Romish party, his principal rival, and the only man whose strength and abilities he dreaded, had already assembled his friends, and he was anxious to anticipate any message they might send to France ;[1] Even before the King's death, the Lord James had entered into a correspondence with the young Queen, in which he solicited the renewal of his French pension, and in reply Mary had assured him, that if he would return to his duty, not only the pension awaited him, but the highest favours that could be conferred, whether he disposed himself to be ecclesiastical or temporal.[2]

But whilst he thus prepared the way for a reconciliation with his own Sovereign, and hoped to be entrusted with the principal management of her affairs, the Lord James had no intention of deserting the lucrative service of England. At the same moment he applied, through Throckmorton, to Cecil, requesting a recompense out of some Abbey or

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots' Corr. Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh 23d Dec. 1560. Also, orig. MS. St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 7th Sep. 1560. Also, MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Orig. Randolph to Cecil, 23d. Sept. 1560.

[2] MS. Letter. French Corr. St. P. Off., 29th Nov. 1560. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth.

pension in his own country, for the losses he had sustained.[1] He resolved also to take his passage by London, and in an interview with Elizabeth, to acquaint that Princess with the purport of his message, and the course of conduct which he and his party had determined to follow; if the Congregation found, that their Sovereign, listening to the counsel of the House of Guise, which had already occasioned a civil war, meant to renew its horrors, by bringing with her a foreign force, they had resolved not to receive her, but to communicate the matter to the Queen of England, who, says Lethington, will have power to command what she thinketh rathest (earliest) to be followed, without whose advice, he adds, "we dare not enterprise any great thing."[2] If, on the contrary, Mary was content to come home, unaccompanied by any foreign force, and to repose her confidence in her own subjects, he was to assure her of their loyalty and affection, and to advise her to take her journey through England, where she might have an interview with Elizabeth, and from which her subjects would accompany her honourably to herown country.

One difficulty remained on the subject of religion. The young Queen rigidly adhered to the Romish faith, yet it had been pronounced death by Parlia-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. French Cor. Thockmorton to Cecil, 29th. Nov., 1560. "If," says Throckmorton, "the allotment of his recompence could be so used as the Earl of Arran might be seen to be the principal doer thereof, it would, in my opinion, do no harm."

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Lethington to Cecil, 6th Feb. 1560-1.

liament for any one to hear mass; and the ministers admonished him, that if he consented that she should have that service performed either publicly or privately, they would consider him as betraying the cause of God, and exposing religion to the utmost peril. He answered that he should never consent to the establishment of this idolatrous worship in public, but that he could not consent to the violent advice of those who would stop her from the private exercise of her own form of worship.[1] Having thus received his instructions, the Parliament was prorogued till the 21st of May.

At the same time that the Three Estates committed this important mission to the Lord James, a secret convention was held by the Romish faction, which was attended by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Murray and Ross; the Earls of Huntly, Athole, Crawford, Sutherland, Marshall, Caithness, and many other barons, who entrusted Lesly, then Official of Aberdeen, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, with a Commission to repair to the French Court, and present to their Sovereign their offers of service and expressions of devoted attachment.

The departure of both envoys, however, was delayed by the arrival of four Commissioners from the Queen (20th February, 1560). These were Preston of Craigmillar, Ogilvy of Findlater, Lumsden of Blanern, and Lesly of Auchtermuchty. The mes-

[1] MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 458.

sage which they brought from their royal mistress was full of affection and conciliation. She assured them that she meant shortly to return home; that all offences should be forgiven, and that the few French soldiers who still remained in garrison within Dunbar and the Inch should be sent out of the country. She informed them that offers of marriage had been already made to her on the part of the Prince of Spain and the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, but that she had resolved to entertain none of these proposals till she could in person consult her nobles and receive the assent of her people. To them she looked, and to their support, as the only sure foundation of her greatness.[1] They presented at the same time a commission directed to seven leading men in Scotland, the Duke of Chastelherault, Argile, Athole, Huntly, Bothwell, the Lord James, and the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, directing them to summon a Parliament, and notifying that the French King had resolved to despatch Monsieur de Noailles to propose to the Three Estates the renewal of the ancient league between France and Scotland, a proposal which met with her hearty concurrence. Mary, seized this moment, earnestly to recommend to her subjects of all parties the duty of mutual forbearance and forgiveness. She addressed letters to almost every leading man in Scotland, assuring those who had most offended against her, that she was determined to forget all in-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 26th February, 1560-1.

juries, and to continue them in their offices of trust if they would but faithfully serve her.[1]

At the time when these messengers arrived from the Queen, Scotland was divided, as we are informed by the secretary Lethington, into three parties.[2] The first he denominates the neutrals, who, as they were before this, careless of the commonweal, were now ready to receive whatever was propounded to them under the shadow of the Prince's command, without examination either of its justice or its consequences. The second faction consisted of the Duke of Chastelherault and the friends of his house. He considered his only security to be a marriage, between Arran, his eldest son, and Mary. In advising this, the sole councillor and confidant of Arran, was Knox: to promote it, Forbes, a confidential friend of the Hamiltons, had already proceeded on a secret mission to France, and although the Queen was too cautious to commit herself, the messenger was received with favour, and an answer returned which at least did not extinguish his hopes.[3] The third party is described by the same acute statesman, himself an eye-witness and principal leader amongst them, as important alike in numbers, rank, and power. It was their opinion that every method should be

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 23rd January, 1560-1. MS. Instructions to the four Commissioners, St. P. Off., without date.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 26th February, 1560.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 3rd January, 1560-1.

adopted to persuade their Sovereign to return into her own realm, where they were ready to secure for her a favorable reception, under the single condition that she came without a foreign force, and was content to govern by her own subjects. If she consented to this, it was his belief that ways would easily be found to induce her to favor the religion, confirm the treaty with England, and reform all abuses. Lethington concluded the letter which gives us this information, by pointing out to Cecil the dangers which must follow the renewal of the league with France, and anticipated his own certain ruin if the amity with England were dissolved. "I pray you," says he, "consider what danger it is for me to write. Many men's eyes look upon me; my familiarity with that realm is known, and so far misliked, that I learn it shall be my undoing, unless the Queen may be made favorable to England, which I fear shall be hard to do."[1] Nor was he singular in this opinion, the whole party of the Congregation looking to Elizabeth as their surest protection against the designs of France and the anticipated resentment of their Sovereign.

On the first intelligence of the death of Francis, this Princess prepared to pursue that cautious and double policy which should preserve her interest in Scotland, at the least possible expense to herself. She despatched the Earl of Bedford to present her condolences to Mary, and to assure her of her warmest wishes for

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 26th February, 1560.

the continuance of peace between her own kingdom and Scotland, but to require at the same time the confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh, concluded by her Commissioners, and of which the ratification, she contended, had been delayed on frivolous pretences.[1] It was to be a main part of Bedford's duty, to persuade the Queen to give the same freedom to her country that it had enjoyed during the reign of her father, James the Fifth, which consisted chiefly in its being governed by its own laws, and ruled by means of its "natural or borne" people. He was to remind her how quiet the kingdom had remained since the removal of the French troops—to declare that for the last hundred years the borders had not enjoyed so much peace as at present; and if he discovered any disposition in the House of Guise to promote her marriage with Spain or Austria, he was to incite the King of Navarre, and the Protestant party in France, to oppose it, as contrary to his own greatness and the best interests of Christendom.[2] Soon after this, Elizabeth instructed Randolph, then resident as her envoy at the Scottish capital, in the policy which he ought to pursue. He was directed to inform the leaders of the Protestants of the league lately renewed amongst the princes of Germany for their mutual defence against the Pope and his adherents, and to show them how earnestly they had exhorted her to continue firm in

[1] MS. Instructions, St. P. Off., Sir J. Williamson's Collection, 1st series, vol. xix. p. 547, 20th January, 1560-1.

[2] Ibid.

her religion. He was to express her determination to adhere to the great principles of the Reformation, to exhort the Scottish reformers to labour for the continuance of the peace with England, and to persuade them against the renewal of the ancient unprofitable alliance with France.[1]

Bedford arrived at Paris on the 3rd of February, and on the 15th of that month proceeded to the Court at Fontainbleau, where he delivered his message to the Scottish Queen.[2] He was received by Mary with the courteous and winning manners for which she was so remarkable: she expressed her kindly feelings towards Elizabeth, and her desire to remain in amity with England, but steadily declined to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, till she had returned to her kingdom and consulted the wishes of her parliament. The interview is minutely described in an original letter of Bedford and Throckmorton, to the privy council. They were conducted to the presence of the Queen of Scotland by D'Osell, her knight of honour, and on being pressed to show her desire of peace with Elizabeth, by confirming the treaty of Edinburgh, without more delay, Mary replied, "that there were more reasons to persuade to amity, between Elizabeth, her good sister, and herself, than between any two princes in all christendom; we are both, (said she,) in one isle,

[1] Haynes St. P., p. 366, 17th March, 1560-1.

[2] St. P. Off., French Corr., 12th February, 1560-1; also St. P. Off., Sir J. Williamson's Collection, 1st series, vol. xix. p. 585. Report of Bedford and Throckmorton, to the Privy Council.

both of one language, both the nearest kinswomen that each other hath, and both Queens. As to the treaty of Edinburgh I am here, (she continued) as you see, without all counsel; my uncle (the Cardinal of Lorraine), who hath the ordering of all my affairs, and by whom (as reason is) I ought to be advised, is not here presently, and, Mons. l'Ambassadeur, it is also the Queen, my good sister's advice, that I should take the counsel of the nobles and wise men of mine own realm, as hath been declared by you unto me. You know well enough, (quoth she) here are none of them, but I look to have some of them here shortly, and then will I make the Queen such an answer as she shall be pleased with." The Earl of Bedford again insisted, that she was bound in honour immediately to grant a ratification which had been already too long delayed. "Helas, my Lord, (interrupted Mary) what would you have me do, I have no council here; the matter is great to ratify a treaty; and especially for one of my years (she was then eighteen)." The sagacious Throckmorton then attempted to reply to these reasonable scruples, "Madam," said he, "Mons. de Guise, your uncle, is here present, by whom I think, as reason is, you will be advised. I see others here also, of whom you have been pleased to take counsel; the matter is not such but that you may proceed without any great delay, seeing it hath been promised so often that it should be ratified." "Helas, Mons. l'Ambassadeur, (quoth she) for those things that were done in my late husband's time, I am not to be charged, for then

I was under his obedience; and now I would be loath to do any thing unadvisedly; but because it is a great matter, I pray you give me respite, till I speak with you again;" with which answer the Ambassadors were contented for the time, but when taking their leave, Mary recalled Throckmorton; "Mons. l'Ambassadeur," said she pleasantly, "I have to challenge you with breach of promise; you can remember that you promised me, in case I would send to the Queen, my good sister, my picture, that I should have hers in recompense thereof, and because I made no small account of the same, I was very glad that that condition was offered me to have it; you know I have sent mine to the Queen, my good sister, according to my promise, but have not received hers. I pray you, therefore, procure, that I may have it, whereof I am so desirous, and now, more than before, that I shall think the time long till I have it."

On the morrow, Bedford and Throckmorton having obtained a second audience, reminded Mary of her promise to give them her final answer: "My Lord," quoth the Queen, "inasmuch as I have none of the nobles of my realm of Scotland here, to take advice of, by whom the Queen, my good sister, doth advise me to be counselled, I dare not, nor think not good, to ratify this said treaty, and, as you know, if I should do any act that might concern the realm, without their advice and counsel, it were like (likely) I should have them such subjects unto me, as I have had them. But for all such matters as be past, I have forgotten

them; and at the Queen, my good sister's desire, I have pardoned them, trusting that I shall find them hereafter by her good means, better and more loving subjects than they have been. Whether I have cause to think amiss of them, or no, I durst put it to her judgment. This, my Lord, I pray you think concerning the ratification of the treaty: I do not refuse to ratify it, because I do not mind to do it; nor I use not these delays as excuses to shift off the matter; for if my council were here, I would give you such an answer as should satisfy you; and I pray you to tell the Queen, my good sister, I trust, ere it be long, some of the nobility and council of Scotland will be here, for I do hear they mean to send some, shortly, unto me; *peradventure you know it as well as I.* And when I shall have communed with them, I mind to send my good sister, the Queen, your mistress, such an answer, as I trust she shall be pleased with it; for I mean to send one of mine own unto her ere it be long. In the mean time, I pray you, declare unto her from me, that I would we might speak together, and then I trust we should satisfy each other, much better than we can do by messages and ministers. This the Queen, my sister, may assure herself of, that she shall find none more willing to embrace her friendship and amity, than I; and there is none that ought to take more place with her, than me. She can consider in what state I am in, and what need I have to have the amity of such a one as she is. Tell her, I pray you, how much I am desirous to see her, and also that I am in good hope it will come to pass."

"And thus, (concluded the ambassadors in their letter to the privy council), after many good words to and fro we took our leave of her, marry she forgot not to pray us both once again, to remember to procure that she might have the Queen's Majesty's picture."[1]

Not long after the return of Bedford, the Lord James having consulted with Lethington and his party, on the policy which they should pursue, repaired to the English court: there, in an interview with Elizabeth, who pressed him to procure the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, he assured that princess, that in his present visit to the Queen, his Sister, he bore no public commission, it was dictated, he said, solely by his own private feelings; and the only message he conveyed from the nobility and council, was a general declaration of their duty and devotion to their Sovereign.[2] But although Murray declined to press Mary on this subject of the treaty, he did not fail to inform Elizabeth minutely regarding the intended proceedings of himself and his friends. "The Lord James," said Lethington, addressing Cecil and alluding to the journey, "mindeth to sue to the Queen's Majesty (Elizabeth) for a passport, and in his passage to make

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. The Earl of Bedford and Sir N. Throckmorton, to the Privy Council, 26th Feb. 1560-1. Sir J. Williamson's Collection, vol. xix. p. 54.

[2] MS. Letter, Elizabeth to Sir N. Throckmorton, St. P. Off. Draft by Cecil, 29th March 1561. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots' Cor. 7th Feb. 1360. The Lord James to Cecil.

her Highness participant as well of that he hath in charge, as what he mindeth to do. You know somewhat of his nature, and I dare undertake that he is no dissembler."[1] With Cecil also the same ambitious and able man held a private consultation, and it is curious to observe, that between two such consummate politicians as Cecil and Throckmorton there existed a difference of opinion as to the propriety of permitting him to take his journey into France. Throckmorton, then minister at the French Court, a witness to the skilfulness of Guisian diplomacy, and not insensible to the fascination of the manners of the young Queen, dreaded that he would be gained over by the bribes which were preparing for him; or should his integrity or his self-interest resist these temptations, that some means would be found to detain him in France. "I understand," says this ambassador, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, "that the Lord James of Scotland is appointed to come hither to the Queen of Scotland. I am very sorry for it, and so shall be still, till I see the contrary of that fall out, which I yet fear by his coming. I learn that this King, by means of the Queen of Scotland, deviseth all the means he can to win him to his devotion; and for that purpose hath both procured the red hat for him if he will accept it, and also mindeth to endow him with good abbeys and benefices in this realm. If advancement or fair words shall win him, he shall not want the one or the other. If he so much esteem

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. February 6th, 1560-1.

the religion he professeth, and the honour of his country and himself that none of these things shall win him to this devotion, then it is to be feared that they will work ways to keep him still by fair or foul means. * * On the other side, if he will be won, then your Majesty knoweth he may be, and it is like he will be, the most perilous man to your Majesty and your realm, of all the realm of Scotland, and most able to stand this King in his best stead for the matters there, so that his coming cannot but prejudice every way; and I believe verily if he come, he will not return into Scotland so soon as he thinketh."[1]

Cecil, however, knew that the Lord James was devotedly attached to England. From the correspondence with Lethington he was aware that both Maitland and he considered their own safety as inseparably connected with the maintenance of their fidelity to Elizabeth, and having concerted their measures together, the English secretary felt little disposition to distrust the Scottish envoy, but treating him with the highest courtesy, dismissed him with earnest injunctions to attend to his personal safety.[2]

Having arrived at Paris, Murray found that the Queen, his Sovereign, was then at Rheims, to which place he proceeded, after having consulted with Throckmorton, and delivered to that minister the

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to the Queen. Paris, March 31st, 1561.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Cecil to Throckmorton. April 4th, 1561.

letters he had received from Cecil.[1] He found himself anticipated by Lesly, the envoy of Huntly and the Romish faction, who, the very day before her brother was admitted, had solicited and obtained an interview with the Queen. It seems, however, to have produced little effect upon the mind of Mary. She had been impressed with an unfavorable opinion of Huntly from his late wavering and crafty conduct. Although he professed an unshaken attachment to the Romish faith, and made the warmest professions of loyalty to his Sovereign, this powerful noble had scarcely a year before, joined the party of the Congregation, upon an understanding that he should be supported in his power in the north, and share in the ecclesiastical prizes which the leaders were then dividing amongst them.[2] When, therefore, Lesly brought from him his assurances of fidelity, warned his mistress to beware of the intrigues and ambition of her brother, the Lord James, and hinted that he had designs against the Crown, it is not surprising that Mary listened to his communication with incredulity.[3] She, however, received the envoy with kindness, and commanded him to remain near her person.[4]

To Murray her behaviour was more warm and

[1] He arrived sometime before the 9th of April, and did not see his Sovereign, the queen, till the 14th of the same month. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Cecil. 9th April 1561.

[2] MS., St. P. Off., "My Lord of Huntley's desires and counsel. 18th April, 1560.

[3] Keith, p. 160.

[4] Lesly, Bannat. Edin., p. 294.

confidential. He came to her, as he stated, not with any public commission, but impelled by his affection, and anxious to offer her his services, as one who knew the state of parties in her dominions; and so completely did his blunt and open deportment impress her with an opinion of his integrity, that in a few days he had gained a decided influence over the mind of his Sovereign. He appears in his manner of managing this difficult mission, to have acted with great address and duplicity. His object, according to the expressive phrase of Lethington, was to "grope the mind of the young Queen," and, having discovered her intentions, to shape his counsels and his conduct so as best to secure the interests of the Congregation, the friendship of Elizabeth, and the preservation of his own power. Had Mary been aware that the man in whom she was about to confide, had already made Elizabeth and Cecil participant in his intentions, and that nothing was to be done in Scottish matters without consulting the English Queen, she would have hesitated before she gave entire credit to one so likely to abuse it; but of this she was ignorant; and the Romish party, who had attempted to put her on her guard, were not themselves above suspicion. D'Osell, in whom she placed much confidence, was untrue to her; and acting in the interest of Elizabeth,[1] advised her to confide implicitly in the Lord James. Her temper was open and unsuspicious, and one of the most fatal faults in her character was the facility with

[1] This is quite apparent from the secret correspondence of Throckmorton and Cecil, in the State Paper Office.

which her affections were engaged, and the dangerous and rapid reliance she was disposed to place in all whom she trusted. She listened therefore to her brother with a generous forgetfulness of the part which, as she believed, his conscientious adherence to the reformed faith had compelled him to take against her; and when he pressed her to return to her dominions, and assured her of a cordial welcome from himself and her subjects,[1] she flattered herself his protestations were sincere, and disclosed to him her intentions with an imprudent precipitation. She declared that she would never ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, till she came into Scotland and took the advice of her Parliament. She did not scruple to admit, that the amity between England and Scotland was little agreeable to her, and that, considering the terms of the league lately made betwixt the two realms, she was anxious to have it dissolved. It was evident also to the Lord James, from the expressions of the Queen, that she would never marry the Earl of Arran; but was anxious to procure the consent of her subjects to a union with some foreign prince. She had sent her commands that no Parliament should be assembled, and no business of importance concluded, till she had personally met with her people; and she confessed that her present intention was to return to Scotland, not through England, but by sea.[2]

Notwithstanding all this, there is reason to believe

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Cecil, 26th July, 1561. Paris.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 29th April, 1561

that an immediate return to her kingdom was not at this moment very anxiously desired by Mary. To leave France, where, as the Queen of one of the first monarchies in Europe, she was accustomed to all the splendour and adulation attendant upon so high a rank, where she had been the attractive centre of a refined court, to repair to an inferior kingdom, inhabited by a ruder people, who spoke of her as an idolatress and an enemy, was sufficiently appalling. But other reasons weighed with her, and produced delay. Her hand was now solicited by some of the greatest princes on the continent, and the same suitors who had courted Elizabeth, and whom that Queen felt a pride in keeping in her train, now offered an unpardonable affront to her vanity by transferring their admiration to her beautiful rival. The King of Denmark, reputed to be by sea the strongest prince in Christendom, had offered to enter into a strict league with France, should he succeed in his addresses to Mary.[1] The King of Sweden had despatched an Embassy proposing himself in marriage; and at this very time the jealous and busy eye of Throckmorton had detected a secret overture for a matrimonial alliance with the Prince of Spain,[2] which created alarm to the English ambassador, and did not escape the watchful observation of the Lord James.[2] To

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Elizabeth. March 31st, 1561.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Cecil. April 23rd, 1561.

gain time to conclude this negotiation was one great object of the Scottish Queen, and with this view she was inclined to delay her immediate journey home, and entrust her affairs in the mean season to the management of the Lord James. But, prior to her final resolution, both the Queen and the Guises, endeavoured with great earnestness to induce him to embrace the Romish faith. He was offered a Cardinal's hat, and the highest advancement, should he prefer an ecclesiastical to a civil career, but he resisted every bribe, remaining true to the reformed faith and his engagements with England. This firmness in his purpose rather raised than lowered him in the esteem of the Queen, his sister. She imagined, but erroneously, that he who was thus guided by a conscientious adherence to the party of which he formed the head, would be equally true to her. She confided to him her intended measures regarding Scotland, and when he parted from her, she had promised him, her Commission to assume the government of the country, till her arrival in her dominions, and engaged to send it to him by a gentleman whom he left behind for this purpose.[1]

On taking leave of his Sovereign, the Lord James returned to Paris, and having secretly met the English ambassador, insidiously betrayed to him everything that had passed between Mary and himself. These particulars Throckmorton immediately communicated

[1] St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to the Queen (Elizabeth). 1st May, 1561.

to Elizabeth,[1] observing that the Scottish Lord would himself detail the circumstances more particularly to her Majesty when he came to her presence. It is of importance, at this moment, to the full understanding of the secret history of this period, to attend to some of the passages of the letter addressed by the ambassador to that Princess. "At this present (29th April, 1561)" says he, "thanks be to God, your Majesty hath peace with all the world, and I see no occasion to move unto your Majesty or your realm, any war from any place or person, but by the Queen of Scotland and her means; neither do I see any danger that may grow to your realm but by Scotland. Then, wisdom doth advise your Majesty to buy your surety, quietness, and felicity, though it cost you dear. The means to assure this is in time before any other put in his feet, his hire, and practices, to win unto your Majesty devotion and party, the mightiest, the wisest, and the most honest of the

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to the Queen. 29th April, 1561. It is to the preservation of this letter in the Correspondence of the State Paper Office, that I owe the detection of Murray's intrigues with Elizabeth, and the disclosure of the deep duplicity with which he acted. I subjoin the passage, which proves the assertion in the text, as it is of importance. "When the Lord James, being the same day (22nd April), arrived at this town, came to my lodging *secretly unto me*, and declared to me at good length, all that had passed between the Queen, his sister, and him, and between the Cardinal Lorraine and him. The circumstances whereof he will declare unto your Majesty particularly when he cometh to your presence. I suppose he will be in England about the 10th or 12th of May."

realm of Scotland. And though it be to your Majesty great charge, as twenty thousand pounds yearly, yet it is in no wise to be omitted or spared. And in sorting your entertainment to every person, there should be some special consideration had of the Earl of Arran, because he is the second person of that realm, whose quality and credit your Majesty knoweth better than I, and in like manner of the Lord James, whose credit, love, and honesty is comparable, in my judgment, to any man of that realm. It is now your Majesty's time, and never shall you have a better opportunity, to work the Scottish affection to your devotion." Another passage from the same letter, eulogising the Lord James, proves that Elizabeth had already by some substantial consideration, or as Throckmorton expresses it, "some good turn," engaged him in her service; and demonstrates in strong language the system of corruption by which Throckmorton advised that the assistance of the leading lay reformers of Scotland should be secured. "Lastly," said he, "I do well perceive the Lord James to be a very honorable, sincere, and godly gentleman, and very much affected to your Majesty, upon whom you never bestowed good turn better than on him, in my opinion. He is a man, in my simple judgment, for many respects much worthy to be cherished, and his amity to be well embraced and entertained. For besides his own well deserving, he is as well able to serve your Majesty by himself and his friends, as any man there in Scotland. Though the Queen, his sister,

will seek to bring in thither some puissant foreign power, to subject all upside down, or though she would seek to serve her turn and affection by some others of her nation that be inclined to greater legerity, inconstancy, and corruption. * * For if I be not greatly deceived, no man can tell yet, nor is able to ground a certain judgment, what shall become of the realm of Scotland. And therefore it shall be good for your Majesty upon all events to retain and win as many friends there as you can, that if one will not serve your turn another may. There be attending here on the Lord James, two men amongst others that are to be cherished by your Majesty. The one is the Lord of Patarro, a grave wise man, and such a one as the Queen of Scotland, for God's cause and yours, doth much mislike. The other is Mr. John Wood, secretary to the Lord James, a man in whom there is much virtue and sufficiency. There be two others which are well known to your Majesty, which are in like case to be well cherished. The one is Alexander Clark, the other is Robert Melvyne."[1] These passages sufficiently explain the extraordinary difficulties of Mary's situation, the venality of the times, and the lamentable want of principle in that class from which she was compelled to choose her counsellors.

The Queen on taking leave of her brother, had

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 29th April, 1561. Paris.

earnestly dissuaded him from visiting the French Court or passing through England. She naturally dreaded the influence of the Protestant party in France, and of Elizabeth in England; and when she found that her wishes were not obeyed, she dismissed the gentleman by whom he expected to receive the commission appointing him Governor, with a brief intimation that she meant to entrust that authority to no person till her own arrival in her dominions. "The special cause," says Throckmorton in writing to the Queen of England, "why she hath changed her opinion for the Lord James, as I hear, is that she could by no means dissuade him from his devotion and good opinion towards your Majesty, and the observation of the league between your Majesty and the realm of Scotland, and also that neither she nor the Cardinal Lorraine could win nor divert him from his religion, wherein they used very great means and persuasions. For which respects the said Lord James deserveth to be the more esteemed; and seeing he hath dealt so plainly with the Queen, his sovereign, on your behalf, and showed himself so constant in religion, that neither the fear of his Sovereign's indignation could waver him, nor great promises win him, your Majesty may, in my opinion, make good account of his constancy towards you, and so he deserveth to be well entertained and made of, as one that may stand you in no small stead for the advancement of your desire. And in case your Majesty would now in time liberally and honorably consider him with some good means, to make him to be the more

beholden to you, it would, in my simple judgment, serve your Majesty to great purpose."[1]

Murray having left Paris, passed over to Dover, and from thence to the English Court. The step taken by the Scottish Queen in withholding his promised commission as Governor, convinced him that, since their interview her policy had changed; his measures, therefore, experienced a similar alteration. He was suspected—the Queen had resolved to return to her dominions sooner than he had contemplated, and it became necessary for him to provide against it. He knew from Throckmorton, whose sagacity penetrated into the whole system of the French intrigues in Scotland, that a strong Romish party was forming against him—love-days had been made amongst the papists[2] by Mary's advice; Lethington in a letter to Throckmorton informed that Minister, that French gold which had before this worked so much mischief in the country, might have the same effect again, if England grew lukewarm, and hinted at the necessity of bribing the leading men in Scotland. "I remember, said he, one old verse of Chaucer, 'With empty hand, men should no haukis lure,' sapienti pauca."[3]

Meantime Murray, who remained at the English

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. Throckmorton to the Queen. 1st May, 1561. Paris.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. Throckmorton to Cecil, 21st May, Paris.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off, French Corr. Copy, Lethington to Throckmorton, 10th June, 1561, Edinburgh.

Court, consulted with Elizabeth on the adoption of every method by which Mary might be detained in France: if this failed, and she set out on her journey, it was devised that means, should be taken to intercept her on her passage to her dominions.[1] Having acted this disingenuous part, he repaired to Scotland fully instructed by Cecil in the policy which they thought proper to adopt. He found there Noailles, the French Ambassador, who during his absence, had been sent by Mary to communicate her wishes and intention, and soon after his arrival, in the end of May,[2] a convention of the nobility was held in which the Protestant party carried some violent resolutions against renewing the league with France.[3] At this assembly Noailles, the French Ambassador, received his audience, and having urged them to break with England, met with a decided refusal. They reminded him of the late cruel war which the French had carried on in Scotland, of the seasonable assistance of Elizabeth, and of the tyranny of the Romish clergy, whom, instead of pastors, they had found to be wolves, thieves, and murderers of the flock. To dissolve a righteous league which had been cemented in the name of

[1] Copy sent at the time to Elizabeth. St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to the Lord James, 26th June, 1561, Camden, apud Kennet, vol. i. p. 387. Keith, p. 179.

[2] Neither Keith nor Knox fix the precise date of Murray's arrival at Edinburgh. By a Letter of Throckmorton to the Lord James, it appears, that he was in London on the 20th May, and at Edinburgh, on the 3rd June.

[3] Keith, p. 161.

God, and to enter again into alliance with those who were the sworn vassals of that Papal tyranny, which they had cast off, was, they declared, a proceeding to which they never would give their consent.

With this reply, Noailles returned to France, and Elizabeth judging this a proper conjuncture to make a last effort to procure from Mary the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, instructed Throckmorton, her Ambassador at Paris, to visit her for this purpose. His request was temperately, but decidedly denied. The Scottish Queen informed him, that she had now finally resolved to return to her dominions in Scotland, where she would have an opportunity of consulting the Estates of her Realm, without whose advice it would be improper for her to act in this matter; she added, that she had resolved to withdraw all Frenchmen from Scotland; that she regretted their presence had given discontent to her subjects, and excited jealousy in her good sister, but that nothing should be left undone to satisfy the Queen of England, from whom she expected the like good offices in return. Throckmorton observed in reply, that it seemed superfluous to delay the ratification of the treaty, till she had obtained the advice of her nobles and the Estates of the Realm, of whose opinion there could be no doubt as the treaty was made by their consent; "Yea," said Mary, "by some of them, but not by all. It will

[1] Keith, p. 166.

appear when I come amongst them, whether they be of the same mind that you say they were then of. But of this I assure you, Mons. l'Ambassadeur, I for my part am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the Queen, my good sister, and I will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed." "I answered (says Throckmorton), Madam, the Queen, my mistress, you may be assured will use the like towards you, to move you to be of the same opinion towards her. "Then," said she, "I trust the Queen, your mistress, will not support nor encourage any of my subjects to continue in their disobedience, nor take upon them things which appertaineth not to subjects. You know," quoth she, "there is much ado in my realm, about the matters of religion, and though there be a greater number of a contrary religion to me than I would there were, yet there is no reason that subjects should give a law to their sovereign, and specially in matters of religion, which I fear, quoth she, my subjects will take in hand." In reply to this the Ambassador adverted to the great changes in religion which had taken place in Scotland, and to the fact that the majority in that kingdom were Protestants. Mary admitted this, and allowed that there was much room for reformation in the Romish Church, but observed at the same time, that she was none of those who could change their religion every year. "I mean," said she, "to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am, and I trust they shall have no support to constrain

me."[1] Mary, as we see from this interview, had resolved to visit her dominions, but although she could thus ably reply to so experienced a diplomatist as Throckmorton, it was her peculiar misfortune, that she gave her confidence to those who betrayed it to her adversaries; she despatched D'Osell, who enjoyed much credit with her, to solicit a passport from the English Queen; he was accompanied by a gentleman,[2] who was to bring it to France, whilst he pursued his journey into Scotland to prepare for his mistress's reception. But D'Osell was altogether unworthy of the trust reposed in him; he communicated to Throckmorton, previous to setting out, the intended movements of the Queen, and on being admitted to an audience disclosed them to Elizabeth, and advised with her how she ought to proceed. She accordingly refused the passport, with much acrimony and violence gave secret orders for the preparation of some ships of war, which, under pretence of scouring the seas for pirates, were to watch for the Scottish Queen, and instead of permitting D'Osell to continue his journey to Scotland, sent him back to Paris, to inform Mary of her resolution, and secretly to communicate her intentions to Throckmorton. This Ambassador, in a letter to Cecil, expresses surprise and regret at this change of measures. "I do somewhat marvel," says he, "at this resolution on the Queen of Scotland's demand for a passage, and the

[1] Keith, p. 167.

[2] Orig., St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Cecil, June 30th 1561.

rather that by all former writings and messages it seemed to me that her Majesty was of the mind to have the said Queen enticed to go from hence, and to be advised by the councillors of her own realm, where as I take it, many occasions of unquietness and practice might be taken away, that her being here might work both by the heads of such as here she is ruled by, and also by the solicitation of such princes as like to entertain cumber, and be desirous of her. Which to do, neither the one nor the other, cannot have such commodity, if she were in Scotland. I think also upon that you write, that your friends in Scotland will most allow that resolution; whereat I somewhat muse, seeing the Lord James at his late being here wrought what he could, and in the same mind hath continued to persuade the said Queen, his sister, to come home, *and if he be now of another mind, I know not what he meaneth.* But if he persist in his former opinion, then it may be feared, that you shall offend more than the Queen of Scotland." Throckmorton next alluded to the idea of intercepting Mary. * * * Because, said he, I hear nothing of such as come from thence (England) of any equipage or force by sea in readiness to empesche the Queen of Scotland's passage, or to make that good that Monsieur D'Osell hath reported here her Majesty said unto him; which was, that her Majesty would provide to keep the Queen of Scotland from passing home, I have thought good to say thus much to you, that better it had been if no such thing had been said, but passage

granted, if no provision or show be made to empesche her indeed. * * * And yet I will not advise you to counsel the Queen to be at any great cost, inasmuch as the truth and certainty of the Queen of Scotland's journey is not known, nor the certain place of her embarking." To this letter this emphatic postcript is added. "If you mind to catch the Queen of Scots, your ships must search and see all, for she meaneth rather to steal away than to pass with force."[1] There is another passage in a letter from Cecil to the Earl of Sussex, which throws a clear light on this refusal of the passport, and establishes the point that Murray and the Protestant party in Scotland were anxious that she should not be permitted to return to her kingdom. "Monsieur D'Osell," says he, "came from the Scots Queen, with the request that the Queen his mistress, might have a safe-conduct to pass along our sea-coasts, and himself to pass into Scotland to provide for her coming. Many reasons moved us to mislike her passage, but this only served us for answer, that where she had promised to send the Queen's Majesty a good answer for the ratification of the last league of peace, made at Edinburgh, and now had sent none, her Majesty would not disguise with her, but plainly would forbear to show her such pleasure until she should ratify it, and that done, she should not only have free passage, but all helps and gratuities. Monsieur D'Osell was also gently required to return with this

[1] MS. Letter, French Corr. St. P. Off. Throckmorton to Cecil. Paris, 26th July, 1561.

answer; what will follow we shall shortly see. *This proceeding will like the Scots well.*"[1]

At this moment the seas were much infested by pirates, and the English Queen who dreaded the expense and the obloquy to which she would be exposed if she openly prepared a fleet to intercept Mary, took advantage of this circumstance to put out to sea some ships of war, with the avowed object of protecting her merchants, but with secret instructions to be on the watch for the Scottish Queen, and not to suffer her to pass.[2]

The refusal of a passport by Elizabeth deeply wounded Mary, but although she dreaded the hostile intentions of that Queen, her preparations were now so far advanced, that she determined they should not be countermanded. On the 26th July, she gave a final audience to the English Ambassador, and of this interview we have fortunately a minute and interesting account transmitted by Throckmorton to his royal mistress. It is impossible to read it with-

[1] MS. Letter, Cecil to Sussex. Titus, B. x. iii. 42. dorso. Dated Newhall, 25th July, 1561.

[2] This important fact seems to me to be established by a letter which he addressed to Sussex. "The Scottish Queen," says he, "was the 10th of this month at Bulloign, and meaneth to take shipping at Calais. Neither they in Scotland, nor we here, do like her going home. The Queen's Majesty hath three ships in the North Seas, to preserve the fishers from pirates. *I think they will be sorry to see her pass.*" MS. Letter, Cecil to Sussex, Smallbridge, Mr. Smalldegrave's House, the 12th of August, 1561. Titus, B. xiii. 44. dorso. Keith, p. 178.

out forming a favourable idea of the prudence, dignity, and spirit, of the young Queen of Scotland. When the Ambassador was introduced, she commanded all the audience to retire. "I know not well," said she, "my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported, but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions as the Queen, your mistress, was content to have when she talked with Monsieur D'Osell." She then continued, "There is nothing Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the Queen, your mistress, that favour which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough home into mine own realm, I think, without her passport or license; for though the late King, your master, used all the impeachment he could, both to stay me and catch me when I came hither, yet you know, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I came hither, safely, and I may have as good means to help me home again, as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. Truly, I was so far from evil meaning to the Queen, your mistress, that at this time I was more willing to employ her amity to stand me in stead than all the friends I have, and yet you know, both in this realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ their forces and aid to stand me in stead. You have oftentimes told me, that the amity between the Queen, your mistress, and me,

was very necessary and profitable for us both; and now I have some reason to think, that the Queen, your mistress, is not of that mind, for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly. It seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than she doth of me their Sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nighest kinswoman and her next neighbour * * *. Indeed, continued the Queen, with great animation, your mistress doth give me cause to seek friendship where I did not mind to ask it. But Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, let your mistress think that it will be deemed very strange amongst all princes and countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me, and now, being a widow, impeach my going into my own country. I ask of her nothing but friendship; I do not trouble her state, nor practise with her subjects. And yet, I know there be in her realm some that be inclined enough to hear offers. I know also, they be not of the same mind she is of, neither in religion, nor in other things. The Queen, your mistress, doth say that I am young, and do lack experience. But, I have age enough and experience to behave myself towards my friends and kinsfolks, friendly and uprightly, and I trust, my discretion shall not so fail me that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than is due to a Queen and my next kinswoman." Nothing could be more dignified, yet nothing more severe than this remonstrance of Mary, and the

manner in which she glanced at the violence into which Elizabeth had been betrayed in her interview with D'Osell, could not fail to touch this proud Princess to the quick. Throckmorton, in reply, excused the conduct of the English Queen, and fell back upon the old topics of complaint, the assumption of the arms and title of England, and the delay to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. On both points Mary was prepared to answer him. "You know," said she, "that when I assumed the style and arms of England, I was under the commandment of King Henry, my father, and of the King, my lord and husband; whatsoever was then done, was their act, not mine, and since their death, I have neither borne the arms, nor used the title of England." With regard to the treaty, upon which so much has been said, she contended that without the advice of the Council of her realm, it was impossible she could come to a decision on so grave a matter, which required the mature deliberation of the wisest amongst them. "This," said she, "I cannot have, until I return to my dominions; I am about to haste me home, as fast as I may, to the intent the matters may be answered: and now the Queen, your mistress, will in no wise suffer me neither to pass home, nor him that I sent into my realm, so as, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, it seemeth the Queen, your mistress, will be the cause why in this matter she is not satisfied, or else she will not be satisfied, but liketh to make this matter a quarrel still betwixt us, whereof she is the author."[1]

[1] Keith, pp. 174, 175.

On the 21st of July, Throckmorton took leave of Mary, regretting that the terms upon which she then stood with regard to the English Queen, did not permit him to wait upon her at her embarkation. Her reply was affecting, and seemed almost to shadow forth her future fate. "If," said she, "my preparations were not so much advanced as they are, peradventure the Queen, your mistress's unkindness might stay my voyage, but now I am determined to adventure the matter, whatsoever come of it. I trust the wind will be so favourable, as I shall not need to come on the coast of England, and if I do, then, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, the Queen, your mistress, shall have me in her hands to do her will of me, and if she be so hard hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure, and make sacrifice of me, peradventure, that casualty might be better for me than to live: in this matter God's will be fulfilled."[1]

These melancholy forebodings were not, however, at this moment destined to be realised; Mary, having left Paris on the 21st of July, was accompanied as far as St. Germain by the King of France, the Queen Mother, the King of Navarre, and other persons of the first rank. Here, after a few days' stay, she bad adieu to the Royal Family, and attended by the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the Grand Prior, who was general of the French galleys, and other noble

[1] Keith, p. 176.

persons, she proceeded to Calais, where, after waiting some time for a fair wind, she embarked on the 14th of August.[1] All that day she ceased not to direct her eyes toward the shore of France, until her view was intercepted by night. She then commanded a couch to be spread for her on deck, and gave injunctions that she should be awakened at sunrise if the land were still in view. It happened that there was a calm during the night, the ships made little way, and in the morning, the French coast was still discernible.[2] The Queen sat up in bed, and straining her eyes till the shore faded from her sight, pathetically bad adieu to the beautiful country where she had passed her happiest years. "Farewell France," said she, "beloved France, I shall never see thee more!" Soon after this, a favourable wind sprung up, accompanied by a fog, under cover of which the Queen's galleys escaped the English ships, and arrived in the Port of Leith on the 19th of August, 1561; one vessel, however, in which was the Earl of Eglinton, was captured by Elizabeth's cruisers, and carried into port, but as soon as it was discovered that the young Queen was not on board, the prize was released, and pursued her voyage into Scotland. The incident, however, demonstrated clearly the sinister intentions of the English Queen.

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. Paris, 19th Aug. 1561. Throckmorton to the Council.

[2] Brantome, vol. ii. p. 326.

CHAP. V.

1561 - 1565.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

England.	*France.*	*Germany.*	*Spain.*	*Popes.*
Elizabeth.	Charles IX.	Ferdinand Maximillian	Phillip II.	Pius IV.

On her arrival in her dominions, Mary was received with great joy by all classes of her subjects, and for a while those unhappy feelings which exasperated the various factions of the state against each other, were softened down and forgotten in the general enthusiasm.[1] She was conducted by her nobility with rude state from Leith to her palace of Holyrood. The pomp of the procession, if we may believe Brantome, an eye-witness, was far inferior to the brilliant pageants to which she had been accustomed; she could not repress a sigh when she beheld the sorry palfreys prepared for herself and her ladies, and when awakened on the morning after her arrival,

[1] Instructions to Lethington, sent Ambassador to England. Keith, p. 185.

by the citizens singing psalms under her window, the unwonted strains seemed dissonant to courtly ears; but the welcome, though singular, was sincere, the people were delighted with their young Queen; her extreme beauty, and the gracefulness of her manners, created a strong prepossession in her favour; her subjects crowded round her with expressions of unfeigned devotedness, and for a time she believed that her forebodings of difficulties and distresses were unfounded.[1]

Within a few days after her return, however, the celebration of mass in her private chapel occasioned a tumult, which was with difficulty appeased; Mary had stipulated for the free exercise of her own form of worship, and the Lord James previous to his departure for France, maintained, in opposition to Knox and the strictest reformers, that this liberty could not possibly be denied to their Sovereign. Here the matter rested till the Queen's arrival, but the more intolerant of the Protestants had early made up their minds to resist by force every attempt to raise the "Idol" once more in the land. They drew no distinction between the idolatry of the Jews, which was punished by death, and the idolatry of the Romanists; both were in their eyes maintainers of the accursed thing which was hateful to God. It was even

[1] Brantome, vol. ii. pp. 123, 124. Mary arrived unexpectedly early in the morning of the 19th August, and the weather was so dark and stormy, that the ships were not seen for the fog. This circumstance must have interrupted the preparations.

argued by Knox, that the Jews were more tolerable in their tenets than the Romish Church; he would rather see, he said, ten thousand French soldiers landed in Scotland, than suffer a single mass. And when the master of Lindsay, a furious zealot, heard that it was about to be celebrated, he buckled on his harness, assembled his followers, and rushing into the court of the palace, shouted aloud that the priests should die the death. The Lord James, however, opposed this violence, placed himself at the door of the chapel, overawed the multitude, and preserved the lives of the chaplains who officiated, for which he was bitterly and ironically attacked by Knox.[1]

The Queen, although she claimed for herself the toleration which she extended to her subjects, was anxious to prevent any misconception of her intentions with regard to religion. It had been declared in council, that no alterations should be made, and she now published a Proclamation, in which she assured her subjects of her determination to maintain the Protestant form of worship, which she found established at her arrival, and added, that no one should be permitted, under pain of death, to attempt, either publicly or privately, any innovation upon the national faith.[2] Nor was this all: although Knox's sincere, but ill-advised zeal, had done much to excite her opposition, the Queen, to the astonishment of the Romish party, desired to have an interview with the reformer, who has himself left us

[1] Knox's Hist. of Reformation, p. 306.

[2] Knox, p. 307. Corroborated by a Letter of Randolph's to Cecil. 3d June, 1563.—Keith, p. 239.

an account of their conversation. She blamed him for the violence of his book against female government, and with a clearness and vigour of argument, for which he was probably not prepared, pointed out its evil consequences, in exciting subjects against their rulers. She then advised him to treat with greater charity those who differed from him in opinion. "If, madam," said he, "to rebuke idolatry and to persuade the people to worship God according to his word, be to raise subjects against their Princes, I cannot stand excused, for so have I acted; but if the true knowledge of God and his right worshipping lead all good subjects (as they assuredly do) to obey the Prince from their heart, then who can reprehend me." As for his book, he allowed it was directed against female government, but excused its principles, as being more matters of opinion than of conscience, and professed his willingness to live in all contentment under her Majesty's Government, as long as she kept her hands undefiled by the blood of the saints of God. He contended, that in religion subjects were bound to follow, not the will of their Prince, but the commands of their Creator. "If," said he, "all men in the days of the Apostles, should have been compelled to follow the religion of the Roman Emperors, where would have been the Christian faith. Daniel and his fellows were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, and yet they refused to be of their religion." "But," interrupted the Queen, "these men did not resist." "And yet," replied Knox, "they who obey not the commandment,

may virtually be said to resist." "Nay," rejoined Mary, "they did not resist with the sword." "That," said Knox, "was simply because they had not the power." "What," cried the Queen, starting and speaking with great energy, "do you maintain that subjects having power may resist their Princes?" "Most assuredly," continued the Reformer, "if Princes exceed their bounds. God hath no where commanded higher reverence to be given to Kings by their subjects, than to parents by their children; and yet, if a father or mother be struck with madness, and attempt to slay his children, they may lawfully bind and disarm him till the phrenzy be overpast. It is even so, madam," continued this stern champion of resistance, fixing his eyes upon the young Queen, and raising his voice to a tone, which almost amounted to a menace, "it is even so with Princes that would murder the children of God, who may be their subjects. Their blind zeal is nothing but a mad phrenzy, and therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against Princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God." At these words Mary stood for some time silent and amazed—she was terrified by the violence with which they were uttered. She thought of her own youth and weakness; of the fierce zealots by whom she was surrounded; her mind pictured to itself, in gloomy anticipation, the struggles which awaited her, and she burst into tears. On being comforted and soothed

by Murray, who alone was present at the interview, she at length collected herself, and said, turning to Knox, "Well then, I perceive that my subjects shall only obey you, and not me; they must do what they list, not what I command; whilst I must learn to be subject unto them, and not they to me." "God forbid," said the Reformer, "that it should ever be so; far be it from me to command any, or to absolve subjects from their lawful obedience. My only desire is, that both Princes and subjects should obey God, who has in his word enjoined Kings to be nursing fathers, and Queens nursing mothers to his Church" "Yea," quoth Mary, "this is indeed true, but your's is not the Church that I will nourish. I will defend the Church of Rome, for I think it the true Church of God." At this strong assertion of her belief, the indignation of Knox flamed fierce and high. "Your will," said he, "madam, is no reason; neither doth your thought make that Roman Harlot to be the immaculate spouse of Christ. And wonder not, madam, that I call Rome an Harlot, for that Church is altogether polluted with every kind of spiritual abomination, as well in doctrine as in manners. Yea, madam, I offer myself to prove, that the Church of the Jews who crucified Jesus Christ, when they manifestly denied the Son of God, was not so far degenerated from the ordinances and statutes which God gave by Moses and Aaron unto his people, as the Church of Rome is declined, and for more than five hundred years hath declined, from that purity of religion which

the apostles taught, and planted." "My conscience," said Mary, "is not so—" Conscience," said Knox, "requires knowledge, and I fear of right knowledge you have but little." After some farther exhortations, the Reformer exposed the idolatry of the mass, and threw down his defiance to the most learned Papists in Europe, declaring his earnest wish that he might have an opportunity of engaging with them in controversy before the Queen herself. "In that wish," said Mary, "you might, perhaps, be indulged sooner than you expect." She was then called to dinner, and Knox, on taking his leave, prayed that she might be blessed in the commonwealth of Scotland, as richly as ever was Deborah in the commonwealth of Israel.[1]

I have given this interview at some length, and almost in the words of the Reformer, because in the mistaken but sincere resolution of the Queen, that she would support the ancient faith and church of her fathers, and in the equally honest and still more violent declaration of Knox, that all such efforts would be met by open resistance (as far as he had influence), the causes of the collision which was about to take place are clearly brought out. Alluding to the conferences between Mary and Knox, Lethington, in a letter to Cecil, did justice to the gentleness of the Queen, and contrasted it with the harshness of her opponent. "You know," said he, "the vehemency of Mr. Knox's spirit, which cannot be bridled, and yet doth sometimes utter such sentences as cannot

[1] Knox, Hist. pp. 311, 315, inclusive.

easily be digested by a weak stomach. I could wish he would deal with her more gently, being a young Princess unpersuaded. For this I am accounted too politic, but surely in her comporting with him, she doth declare a wisdom far exceeding her age. God grant her the assistance of his spirit: surely I see in her a good towardness, and think that the Queen, your sovereign, shall be able to do much with her in religion, if they once enter into a good familiarity."[1] That they might enter into this familiarity, was now the great object of Mary and her ministers. Elizabeth had congratulated her on her happy return to her dominions, and she soon after (Sept. 1st 1561) despatched Lethington, her chief secretary, on a mission to England, to express her earnest wishes for the continuance of peace.[2]

Not long after, she took a triumphant progress from her palace to the castle of Edinburgh. Fifty black slaves, magnificently apparelled, received her at the west gate of the city,[3] sixteen of the chief citizens bore a canopy, under which she rode in state, and a public banquet was given to the Queen and the noble strangers by whom she was accompanied. The pageants exhibited on this occasion, marked, indeed, the character of the times. An interlude was performed, in which Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were destroyed as they offered strange fire upon the

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. 25th October, 1561.

[2] Keith, p. 185. Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 90, Mary to Elizabeth Sept. 1561.

[3] Herries' Memoirs, p. 56.—Keith, p. 189.

altar, and it required the interference of Huntly to prevent an indecent parody of the mass, in which the effigy of a priest was to have been burnt as he elevated the host. To the zealous burghers, these dramas contained a wholesome signification of God's vengeance against idolators; to others, as sincere but less fanatical, they appeared unwise incitements to persecution. By those against whom they were directed, although not unnoticed, they were passed over in silence.[1]

It was the anxious desire of the Queen to give her kingdom time to recover the effects of the war and anarchy to which it had been so long exposed. She had determined, before leaving France, to make every sacrifice to conciliate Elizabeth; nor was this resolution adopted without a great end in view. Her title to the throne of England was still present to her mind. Her claim to the Crown, and her assumption of the arms of this kingdom, had, as we have seen, been injudiciously published by her uncles, when she was still Queen of France. Mary had, indeed, apologised for such conduct, and transferred the blame of so strange and premature a measure to her advisers, the Guises, but it was still her earnest desire to have her title to the Crown of England recognised by that Princess, should she persevere in her vows of celibacy, and as the surest means to obtain this object, she committed the chief management of her affairs to Murray and Lethington, the great leaders of the

[1] Keith, p. 189.

Protestant party. Lethington had proposed this scheme to Cecil soon after the death of the French King, and when anticipating the return of Mary to her dominions, he felt all the peril of his own situation; should he be able to carry this point for the Scottish Queen, he knew he was safe; if he failed—if she broke with Elizabeth, and threw herself into the interest of France—he looked upon it as certain ruin. "I made you," says he, in a letter to Cecil (6th February, 1560-1), "some overture at London, how to salve all matters. I wrote to you more amply in it from Sir R. Sadler's house. I would be glad to understand what you think in it, or how the Queen's Majesty can like of it, and how it shall be followed. I know the Queen, my sovereign, is so informed against me, that unless I be able to do her some service, I cannot long be suffered to live in her realm, and I will never press to continue in service longer than the amity betwixt both realms shall continue."[1] Lethington was no doubt perfectly sincere in his desire to carry this point in favour of his mistress; and it is remarkable, that about six months after he had written to Cecil, and shortly previous to Mary's arrival in Scotland, the Lord James had addressed a letter to the Queen of England on the same delicate subject. In this epistle, which is ably and powerfully written, he congratulated this Princess that the ancient enmity between the two nations had been miraculously converted into recipro-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 6th Feb., 1560-1.

cal attachment, and expressed his earnest desire, that the members being thus amicably disposed, the heads (meaning Elizabeth and Mary) should be as heartily joined in love. "You are tender cousins," said he, "both Queens, in the flower of your ages, much resembling each other in excellent and goodly qualities, on whom God hath bestowed most liberally the gifts of nature and of fortune, whose sex will not permit that you should advance your glory by wars and bloodshed, but that the chief glory of both should stand in a peaceable reign." The only point which had occasioned dissention between them was, he goes on to observe, the premature discussion of his mistress's title. "I wish to God," said he, "my sovereign lady had never, by any advice, taken in head to pretend interest or claim any title to your Majesty's realm, for then I am fully persuaded you should have been and continued as dear friends as you be tender cousins; but now since on her part something hath been thought of it, and first motioned when the two realms were in war together, your Majesty knoweth, I fear, that unless that root may be removed, it shall ever breed unkindness between you. Your Majesty cannot yield, and she may on the other part think it hard, being so nigh of the blood of England, so to be made a stranger from it." The Lord James then ventures on the dangerous ground of the succession. "If," says he, "any midway could be picked out to remove this difference to both your contentments, then it is like we should have a perpetual quietness. I have long thought of it, and

never durst communicate it to the Queen, my sovereign, nor many of my countrymen, nor yet will hereafter follow it farther than shall seem good to your Majesty. The matter is higher than my capacity is able to compass, yet upon my simple overture your Highness can lay a larger foundation. What inconvenience were it, if your Majesty's title did remain untouched, as well for yourself as the issue of your body, to provide that to the Queen, my sovereign, her own place were reserved in the succession to the Crown of England, which your Majesty will pardon me if I take to be next, by the law of all nations, as she that is next in lawful descent of the right line of King Henry the Seventh, your grandfather; and in the mean time this isle to be united in a perpetual friendship? The succession of realms cometh by God's appointment, according to his good pleasure, and no provision of man can alter that which he hath determined, but it must needs come to pass; yet is there appearance, that without injury of any party, this accord might breed us great quietness. Every thing must have some beginning. If I may receive answer from your Majesty, that you will allow of any such agreement, I will travel with the Queen, my sovereign, to do what I can to bring her to some conformity. If your Majesty dislike it, I will not farther meddle therewith."[1]

This sensible letter its author inclosed to Cecil,

[1] MS.Letter, St. P. Off. Edin., 6th August, 1561. The Lord James to Queen Elisabeth.

directing him to advise on it, and present it, or withdraw it, as he judged best. Whether it ever reached the Queen's eye is uncertain; and as the Scottish Baron had fearlessly ventured on ground which the more wary Cecil scarcely dared to tread, it is probable he did not risk its delivery, but it proves that the Lord James was sincerely attached on this subject to the interests of his sister, the Queen. It is worthy of remark, also, that in this grand design, we are furnished with the key to the policy adopted by Mary during the first years of her government. Thus, the same reasons which induced her to favour the Protestants, led her to depress the Romanist party, at the head of whom was Huntly, one of the most powerful, crafty, and unscrupulous men in the country, against whom the Lord James placed himself in mortal opposition.[1]

It was not to be expected that the bishops and the Romish peers should bear this with equanimity. They had suffered severely in the cause of the Queen; they naturally looked to her return, as the season when their fidelity was to be rewarded, and their feelings were proportionally bitter when they found themselves treated with neg-

[1] Soon after the Queen's arrival, Randolph informed Cecil that Huntly and this potent Baron greatly discorded. Some alleged, that the cause of the quarrel was a boast of Huntly, that if the Queen commanded him, he could set up the mass in three shires; to which the other answered, that it was past his power to do so, and so he should find the first moment he attempted it.—Keith, p. 190.

lect, and saw those who had been lately stigmatised as traitors, advanced to the chief offices in the state.[1] They accordingly recommenced their intrigues with the Guises, but these crafty diplomatists would not commit themselves too deeply. It was their present policy to temporize. In an overture to Throckmorton, the English ambassador, the Duke of Guise, repeated the proposal of the Lord James, that Elizabeth should declare Mary her successor.[2] It was their object at the same time to procure the renewal of the league with France, and the co-operation of the Queen, their niece, in their vast and unprincipled schemes; and if they failed—if Mary declined their great offers, and refused to "hang her keys at their girdle," they had resolved to form a faction against her, at the head of which should be Chastelherault, Arran, Huntly, and Hume.[3]

Without appearing to notice the plots of the Romanists with France, Mary steadily followed out her design of conciliating the Protestants, and obtaining the friendship of England. She appointed a coun-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. 15th Jan., 1561-2. "I thank you for your good advice towards our Papists, which hath been as yet mostly followed, and I trust since the Queen's arrival they have obtained no great advantage, but, to be plain with you, be in worse case a great deal than before."

[2] MS. Letter. St. P. Off., Throckmorton to Elizabeth. 8th Oct., 1561.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 13th Dec. 1561. Ibid. same to Cecil, 5th Dec. 1561.

cil of twelve, of whom seven were reformers,[1] and she continued to follow the advice of her brother, the Lord James, on all important subjects, and sent him at the head of a large force, and armed with almost absolute power, to reduce the borders to obedience.[2] To Randolph, whom Elizabeth appointed her resident at the Scottish Court, she behaved with the utmost courtesy; and a correspondence by letters was begun between the princesses, in which all was peace, amity, and playful affection. In his mission to the English Court, Lethington urged upon Elizabeth the necessity of declaring Mary her successor. His public instructions, indeed, did not authorise him to enter upon this delicate subject, which has led Keith to question, whether it was now broached at all; but we know from Throckmorton's letters, not only that the proposal was made, but that Cecil was much embarrassed by it. "For the matter," says he, "lately proposed to her Majesty by the Laird of Ledington, in which to deal one way or other, you find difficulties, even so do I think, that not to deal in it at all, no manner of way, is more dangerous; as well for the Queen's Majesty, as for the realm, and specially if God should deal so unmercifully with us, as to take the Queen from us without issue; which God forbid, considering the terms the State standeth in presently."[3] For the moment, Elizabeth evaded

[1] Spottiswood, p. 179.

[2] 8th Nov. 1561. MS. Letter, Lord James to Cecil, St. P. Off., Scots Corr.

[3] Throckmorton to Cecil, MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 9th Oct. 1561.

the point by despatching Sir Peter Mewtas to Scotland, with a request, that Mary should confirm the treaty of Edinburgh, a proposal which she well knew the Scottish Queen must decline.[1]

Meanwhile, the Lord James exhibited an example of prompt and severe justice upon the borders. Proceeding to Jedburgh and Dumfries, with an army which rendered opposition useless, he pursued the thieves into their strong holds, rased their towers to the ground, hanged twenty of the most notorious offenders, sent fifty more in chains to Edinburgh, and in a meeting with the English Wardens, Lord Gray and Sir John Foster, restored order and good government to the marches.[2]

During his absence, the Romish Clergy resorted to court, but found a colder reception than they anticipated, and although Mons. de Moret, who had been sent from the Duke of Savoy, endeavoured to influence the Queen in favour of the Romanists, his power was either very slight,[3] or it suited the tortuous politics of the Guises, to encourage at this moment the amity between Mary and Elizabeth. In speaking of an intended interview between the princesses, the proposal of which had come from Mary, Lethington assured Cecil, that France earnestly

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, 19th Oct. 1561. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 935.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots Corr., Lord James to Cecil, 8th Nov. 1561. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 936; also Randolph to Cecil, 7th Dec. 1561. Keith, p. 205.

[3] Randolph to Cecil, 17th Dec., 1561. Keith, p. 209.

desired it,[1] and so far did they carry this real or pretended feeling, that it was affirmed by the Lord St. Colm, lately arrived from that country, that the Cardinal of Lorraine, in his anxiety to promote the amity between the kingdoms, and to secure to his niece the succession to the English throne, had persuaded her to become a Protestant.[2] To these feelings it is probable we are to ascribe the severe measures against the Romish Clergy, which were adopted at this time in the General Assembly of the Church, held in the capital; as the subject is important, it is necessary to treat it with some detail.

Notwithstanding the full establishment of the Reformation, the Protestant ministers were in a state of extreme poverty, and dependant upon the precarious assistance of their flock; whilst the revenues of the Church were divided between the nobles, who had appropriated them to themselves, and the Romish prelates, who still retained part of their ancient wealth. On the meeting of the General Assembly, the ministers determined to use their most strenuous efforts to procure some support out of the ecclesiastical revenues, yet the attempt was resisted by many of the barons, who had been zealous supporters of the Reformation, but loved its plunder better than its principles. The rulers of the court began, as Knox says, to draw themselves apart from the society of their brethren; and to strive and grudge.[3] Lething-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 29th Jan. 1561.
[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 30th Jan. 1561.
[3] Knox, p. 318.

ton, learned, acute, and wordly, openly scoffed, and Knox, who dreaded his powers of argument, as much as he suspected his sincerity, attacked him with bitterness—Wood, too, the Secretary of the Lord James, the chief adviser of the Queen, joined the opponents of the ministers; it was even debated, whether the General Assembly, being held without the presence or authority of the Queen, was a lawful or constitutional convention. The barons, who had been accustomed to take a part in its proceedings, separated from their brethren, and although after a violent discussion they reluctantly concurred in its legality, yet they steadily refused to pass the Book of Discipline, and thwarted, though they did not openly oppose, the measures for the provision of the clergy. After some consultation, however, an Act was passed ordaining the annual revenues of the whole benefices in the realm to be produced, and out of this gross sum, the Romish Clergy consented to give a third to the Queen, being permitted to retain two-thirds for themselves. This third was to be appropriated to the maintenance of preachers, the endowment of schools, the support of the poor, and the increase of the revenue of the Crown.[1]

Before this proposal was made, the funds of the Romish Church, previously immense, had been greatly dilapidated. On the overthrow of Popery, the Bishops and other dignified clergy had entered into transactions with their friends or kinsmen, by which large portions of ecclesiastical property

[1] Knox, pp. 321, 324, inclusive.

passed into private hands; in some cases, sales had been made by the ancient incumbents, or leases had been purchased by strangers, which the Pope, zealous to protect his persecuted children, had confirmed. The Crown, too, had appointed laymen to be factors or administrators of bishopricks and livings, so that by these various methods, the property of the Church was so much diffused and curtailed, that the third of all the money collected fell far below the sum necessary to give an adequate support to the clergy. There was much fraud also practised in making up the returns. Many of the Romish Clergy evaded the production of their rentals, some gave in false estimates, and although the persons appointed to fix the rate of provision had been the firm supporters of the Reformation, though the Lord James, and Maitland of Lethington, with Argile and Morton, superintended every step, the result disappointed the expectations of the ministers. It was asserted, that the only effect of the change was, to secure a large share for the lay proprietors of church lands, to transfer a considerable portion to the Crown, and to leave a wretched pittance for the ministers. Yet, when fairly viewed, the change was certainly creditable to the Queen, and involved a concession which ought to have been considered valuable and important. It was a legal recognition of the right of the Presbyterian ministers, to be supported by the state, and ought to have convinced all gainsayers that Mary, though she insisted on her private mass, considered the reformed religion as the established faith of the

country. This was no little matter, yet no party was pleased. Knox and the ministers were discontented, not only that they received so little, but because in the same assembly the Mass was permitted, and the Book of Discipline refused: the Romish faction, were still louder in their complaints, and declared, that nothing now was wanting but an interview between Mary and Elizabeth, to the utter overthrow of the ancient faith. Cecil, whilst he rejoiced that the Bishops were spoiled, lamented that their riches should, even in part have fallen to the Crown, and the satirical vein of Randolph ascribed all to the worst motives. "Where your honour," says he, addressing Cecil, "liketh better the diminution of the Bishops and other livings, than the augmentation of the Crown therewith, what can I better say than that which I find written "Merx meritricis, et ad meretrices reversa est." I find it neither done for zeal to Christ's religion, nor hatred to the viciousness of their lives that had it. If she did it for need, they themselves, to have enjoyed the whole, offered much more; I find not also, that all other men, besides the Queen, are pleased with this: the Duke beginneth now to grieve—he must depart from seven parts of Arbroath; the Bishop of St. Andrew's from as much of his livings, the Lord Claud, the Duke's son, in England, future successor to Paisley, also the seventh: the Abbot of Kilwinning, as much, besides divers others of that race; so that many a Hamilton shall shortly be turned a begging. * * I know not whether this be able to make the

Duke a Papist again; for now "Conferunt consilia; the Bishop and he."[1]

Cecil had earnestly advised Lethington to encourage a meeting between the two Queens,[2] and although the Scottish secretary felt the danger of negotiating in such a case, observing, that if anything should frame amiss, it would be his utter ruin,[3] the ardent feelings of Mary relieved him of the difficulty, by herself proposing the interview in a letter which she addressed to Elizabeth.[4] France, also, and the Cardinal, her uncle, encouraged the overture, and even Randolph, whose judgment when in favour of Mary, none can suspect of bias, expressed his opinion of the sincerity, upright dealing, and affection of that princess.[5] Early in the spring (23rd May 1562) her anxiety upon this subject induced her to despatch Secretary Lethington to the English Court, that he might arrange the preliminaries, and the Lord James, her chief minister, who had lately, upon the occasion of his marriage, received from the Queen the Earldom of Mar, requested leave, when the meeting took place, to bring Christopher Goodman along with him, as the minister of the Protestants. He described him as the most temperate and modest of the learned,[6] and Ran-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 15 January 1561-2.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 15th Jan. 1561-2.

[3] Ibid.

[4] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 29th Jan. 1561-2.

[5] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, Scots Corr. 30th Jan. 1561-2.

[6] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots' Corr., Randolph to Cecil, 26th May, 1562.

dolph in a letter to Elizabeth, alluded in emphatic terms to the anxiety for the interview, expressed by the more wise and moderate amongst the Protestants, and the happy effects they anticipated from it. "The hope," said he, "which they have, that your Majesty shall be the instrument to convert their Sovereign to Christ, and the knowledge of his true word, causeth them to wish above measure, that your Majesties may see the one the other."[1]

It is mortifying to find that Knox, and the more violent portion of the reformers, to whom the truth already owed so much, opposed the meeting with bitterness, and attacked it in the pulpit. They regarded the prelacy of England as little better than the Popery of Rome, and preferred that their Queen should remain an obstinate Papist, rather than take refuge in a religion which had as little ground in the word of God. "Our Papists," said Randolph, addressing Cecil, "greatly mistrust the meeting, our Protestants as greatly desire it, our preachers, to be plain with your honour, at one word, be more vehement than discreet or learned, which I heartily lament. The little bruit that hath been here of late, that this Queen is advised by the Cardinal to embrace the religion of England, maketh them now almost wild, of the which they both say and preach, that it is little better than when it was at the worst: I have not so amply conferred with Mr. Knox in these matters as shortly I must, who upon Sunday

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots Corr., Randolph to the Queen, 26th May, 1562.

last gave the cross and the candle such a wipe, that as wise and learned as himself wished him to have held his peace. He recompensed the same with a marvellous vehement and piercing prayer, in the end of his sermon, for the continuance of amity and hearty love with England."[1]

In the midst of these negotiations and heartburnings the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Chastelherault went suddenly mad, and in his frenzy accused himself, his father, and the Earl of Bothwell, of a conspiracy to seize the person of the Queen, murder the Lord James (Earl of Mar), and possess themselves of the Government.[2] The violence of this unhappy nobleman, and the deep mortification with which he beheld the chief power entrusted to the Lord James, had already occasioned much disquiet to the Queen, and it was reported shortly after her arrival from France, that he meant to attack the palace, and carry her off. This disposed people to give some credit to the present conspiracy. It was observed that Arran, showed no symptoms of insanity when he first discovered the enterprise; and the profligate character of Bothwell confirmed their belief. It was he, as Arran insisted, that had invented the whole plot; which

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots Corr. Randolph to Cecil, 12th Feb. 1561-2. It was matter of great regret to the more rigid Protestants in England, that Elizabeth (whose predilection for the ceremonial part of the Romish religion, was well known) always kept candles burning on the altar, in her private chapel; Knox's attack was against these.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 31st March, 1562.

being imparted to him secretly, he agreed to join in the enterprise, and revealed it to his father, the Duke, trusting to have him for an accomplice. At first he explained the intention of the conspirators with great clearness, but soon after, his disclosures exhibited signs of derangement; he began to talk of devils and enchantments, affirmed that he had been bewitched by the mother of the Lord James, whom he spoke of as a noted sorceress, retracted much of his former story, and became so incoherent, that for security, rather than punishment, he was committed to ward in the castle.[1]

His alleged accomplices, Bothwell and the Abbot of Kilwinning were imprisoned, some things appearing suspicious in their conduct, but to the aged Duke, who protested his innocence, and with tears bewailed the ruin of his house, Mary behaved with great tenderness. A passage from a letter of Randolph to Elizabeth is important in the picture it gives of her gentleness, justice, and impartiality, upon this trying occasion. The English Queen and Cecil, who knew well the violence with which Arran had opposed himself to the Queen, imagined that Mary, in her resentment might be ready to believe any thing against him. Randolph, however, completely refutes this unworthy notion. "For the likelihood," says he, "that the Queen is not moved with any evil mind towards the Duke or his, besides that which I have heard her Grace say, I will only declare unto your Majesty that

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 7th April, 1562. Same to same, 9th April 1562.

which I myself (having many times had suspicion thereof) have observed and marked. I never saw yet, since her Grace's arrival, but she sought more means to win the Duke of Chastelherault's good will, and my Lord of Arran's, than ever they had will to acknowledge their duties as subjects unto their Sovereign. She knoweth herself in what place God hath appointed them, and that he is the revenger of all injustice. To separate them from her, being her subjects, there is no cause but disobedience and transgression of her laws. She is not ignorant also of the affection of many in this realm towards that house, how many they are, and how they are allied, wherein to attempt any thing against them unjustly, or that should not be manifest unto the world what their fault were, it should be her own ruin. These things an't like your Majesty, are no small stays to the appetite of man's will, and much more unto her's, being a woman, lately returned into a country where never yet such obedience hath been given unto the Prince or Princess, as is due unto them. In token also that no such thing was meant of her part, it appeared in nothing more than in the usage of his father, of himself, and their friends, with all gentleness, the more to let them know and the world judge that she did love them as her kinsmen, esteemed them as her successors, (if God gave her no issue) and favoured them as her subjects, if their doings do not merit the contrary. Unto the one, not long since, she promised a reasonable support towards his living, for the time of his father's life; and re-

mitted unto the other many things, that both by law and conscience, he was in danger for both body and goods. After the detection of this crime, the Queen's grace so well conceived of my Lord of Arran, and judged so well of his sincere meaning towards her, that she devised with her Council what yearly sum, either of money or other thing, she might bestow upon him. What grief this is unto her heart, it hath appeared in many ways, and she hath wished that it could be known unto your Majesty, without whose advice I believe she will not hastily determine any thing against either the one or the other. Of these things," concludes Randolph, "because the whole country doth bear witness, my testimony needeth the less."[1]

Every thing, indeed, at this time, in the conduct of the Scottish Queen, evinced her sincere attachment to England, and her desire not only to suppress every intrigue which might disturb the tranquillity of her own kingdom, but where these plots originated as they sometimes did, with the English Papists, to assist Elizabeth in their detection and punishment. This was clearly shown at the present moment; for the English Queen having discovered some suspicious intercourse between the Earl of Lennox and the Romish faction believed it to be a plot for the marriage of the Scottish Queen with Lord Darnley, and suddenly committed Lennox, and his Countess, Lady Margaret, the niece of Henry the

[1] MS. Letter St. P. Off. Randolph to Elizabeth, 9th April, 1562.

Eighth, to the Tower. On being informed of it, Mary approved of the severity, derided the practices of Lennox, and declared her resolution never to unite herself with any of that race.[1] About the same time, the Bishop of St. Andrew's and the Earl of Eglinton, having disobeyed the laws regarding the re-establishment of the mass; a royal proclamation was set forth, denouncing death against all who bore a part in this idolatrous solemnity, or countenanced it by their presence,[2] reserving only the Queen's mass in her palace.

To the Lord James, her brother, of whose warm attachment to the English interest we have already met with many proofs,—the Scottish Queen extended so much favour, that his influence became the chief channel to success at court. On his marriage to the daughter of the Earl Marshall, she created him Earl of Mar, and gave a banquet, the splendour of which, with the pageants and masking, called forth the reproof of the more zealous part of the ministers.[3] "At this notable marriage," says Randolph to Cecil, "one thing there was which I must testify with my own hand, which is, that upon Shrove Tuesday, at night, sitting among the Lords at supper, in sight of the Queen, and placed for that purpose, she drank unto the Queen's Majesty, and sent me the cup of gold, which weigheth eighteen or twenty ounces. After supper, in giving her Majesty thanks,

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 31st March, 1562.
[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 3d June, 1562.
[3] Knox, p. 327.

she uttered in many affectionate words, her desire of amity and perpetual kindness with the Queen, and returned and talked long with me thereof, in the hearing of the Duke and the Earl of Huntly."[1]

During the absence of Lethington at the English Court, the tumults upon the borders again demanded the prompt interference of the Government. Murder, robbery, and offences of all kinds prevailed to an intolerable degree, and men who had been publicly outlawed, walked abroad, deriding the terrors of justice. Of these crimes, the great centre was Hawick, and the Queen, who was determined to make an example, armed the Earl of Mar with full powers against the offenders. Nor was his success less than on his former expedition. Making a sudden and rapid march, he encompassed the town with his soldiers, entered the market-place, and by proclamation forbad any citizen, on pain of death, to receive or shelter a thief. Fifty-three of the most noted outlaws were apprehended, of these eighteen were instantly drowned "for lack of trees and halters." Six were hanged at Edinburgh, and the rest either acquitted or imprisoned in the Castle. By this memorable example of severity, the disturbed districts were reduced to sudden and extraordinary quietness, whilst the courage and success of Mar contributed to raise him still higher than before in the favour of his Sovereign.[2]

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 12th Feb. 1561-2.
[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 8th July, 1562.

Mary had already declined many royal offers of marriage, and aware that any alliance which she made, must be an object of deep and jealous interest to Elizabeth, she was anxious to have the approval and advice of that Princess. It was this feeling, probably, which induced her to receive with caution, though with her accustomed courtesy, the ambassador of the King of Sweden, who, about this time (June 3rd, 1562) arrived on a matrimonial mission in Scotland. He brought with him a whole length portrait of his master, which he delivered to one of the Marys,[1] to be presented to the Queen, who hung it up in her private cabinet, and dismissed him with letters and a safe-conduct for the Swedish monarch and his navy to land within any port of her realm which they might find most convenient.[2] This Prince had already made proposals to Elizabeth, which were coldly received; but Mary was aware of the jealousy of her nature, and the danger of appearing to interfere with her admirers, and she now looked anxiously for the return of Lethington.

At length this Minister arrived with the welcome intelligence that the English Queen had consented to the interview. She sent her picture, with many expressions of affection to the Queen, and zeal for the continued amity between the kingdoms. Mary instantly commenced preparations for her journey. "This present day," says Randolph, "she hath directed her letters

[1] See *Supra*, p. 53.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 3rd June, 1562.

again to all the noblemen of her realm, to be with all convenient speed with her at Edinburgh, and for this cause departeth herself hitherward to-morrow, as the most convenient place to take resolution in all things she hath to do. It pleased her Grace immediately after she had conferred with the Lord of Ledington, and had received my Sovereign's picture, to send for me. After she had rehearsed many such purposes, as by the Lord of Ledington's report unto her Grace had been spoken of her, by my Sovereign, touching her sisterly affection towards her, her good will and earnest desire to continue in peace and amity, and, in special, that they might see each other, she sheweth unto me my said Sovereign's picture, and asketh me how like that was unto her lively face? I answered unto her, that I trusted that her Grace should shortly be judge thereof herself, and find much more perfection than could be set forth by the art of man. "That," saith she, "is the thing that I have most desired, ever since I was in hope thereof, and she shall well assure herself there shall be no stay in me, though it were to take any pains, or to do more than I may well say; and I trust by that time that we have spoken together, our hearts will be so eased, that the greatest grief that ever after shall be between us, will be when we shall take leave the one of the other. And let God be my witness, I honour her in my heart, and love her as my dear and natural sister. Let me be believed of you, that I do not fain." * * "Since, therefore," concludes Randolph, "the Princesses' hearts are so wedded together, as divers ways it is

manifest that they are; seeing the purpose is so godly, without other respect but to live in love, I doubt not but, how much soever the world rage thereat, the greater will be the glory unto them both, and the success of the enterprise the happier. To resolve, therefore, with your Honour herein, I find in this Queen so much good will as can be possible; in many of her subjects no less desire than in herself; the rest not such that any such account is to be made of, that either they can hinder the purpose, or do great good, whatsomever they become."[1]

All things being thus in readiness for the interview, and Mary looking forward to it with the ardent and sanguine feelings which belonged to her character, an unexpected obstacle arose from the quarter of France. In that country, the religious and political struggle between the Romish party and the Protestants suddenly assumed a more fierce and sanguinary aspect; and the Queen of England, who steadily supported Coligni and the Protestants, resolved to remain for the whole summer at home, to watch the proceedings of the league which France, Spain, Savoy, and Rome had organized against the common cause of the Reformation. It may, indeed, be doubted, whether Elizabeth was ever sincere in her wish to have a meeting with Mary. It is at least certain, that she readily seized this cause of delay, and in July despatched Sir Henry Sidney into

[1] MS. Letter. St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil. 15th July, 1562.

Scotland to defer the interview of the two Queens till the ensuing summer. Mary received Sidney with expressions of unfeigned disappointment and sorrow. She listened to his embassy, as he himself reports, "with watery eyes;" and Mar and Lethington assured him, that had she not already found a vent for her passionate grief in her private chamber, the expression of it would have been still more violent.[1] It is evident that her heart was intent upon this object, and the delay may have caused a painful suspicion of the sincerity of the English Queen, for whose sake she had already made no inconsiderable sacrifices. Yet the message of Elizabeth was warm and cordial. She assured Mary, that to have seen her dear sister that summer was her earnest desire; that she now delayed the meeting with the utmost reluctance, and had so fully determined to enjoy her company in the spring, that she had sent by Sidney her confirmation of the treaty for the interview, leaving it to her to fix upon any days between the 20th of May and the last of August.[2] Mary was re-assured, and would instantly have accepted the treaty and named the day of meeting, but most of her Council being absent, Lethington thought it prudent to delay, and promised within a month to send her final resolution.[3]

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Sidney to Cecil. 25th July, 1562. Edin.

[2] Instructions to Sir H. Sidney.—Haynes, p. 392.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. 29th July 1562.

The Queen, relieved from this anxiety, now resolved to visit the northern parts of her dominions; and, following her own inclination rather than the advice of her Council,[1] made preparations for her progress as far as Inverness; but before she set out a Jesuit arrived in Scotland with a secret message from the Pope. So violent at this time was the feeling of the common people against any intercourse with Rome, that Mary did not dare to receive him openly; but whilst the Protestant nobles were at the sermon, Lethington conveyed him by stealth into the Queen's closet. The preacher, however, was more brief than usual in his discourse, and the Earl of Mar coming suddenly into the antichamber, had nearly discovered the interview; so that the Papal envoy was smuggled away by the Mary's with much speed and alarm, yet not before Randolph had caught a glimpse of "a strange visage," which filled him full of suspicion. "The effect of his legation," says this ambassador, "was to know whether she could send unto the General Council (he means the Council of Trent, then sitting), and he was directed to use his influence to keep her steadfast in her religion; so at least the secretary assured him, but he believed there was more under this commission than he or Lethington were permitted to see.[2] The messenger, who was a Bishop, narrowly escaped; for

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 10th August, 1562.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 1st August, 1562. Randolph to Cecil.

no sooner was it known that a Papal emissary had dared to set his foot in Scotland, than his death was resolved on; and nothing saved him but the peremptory remonstrance of Mar.[1]

Mary now set out on her progress northward, accompanied by most of her principal nobles. At Aberdeen she was met by the Earl of Huntly, the head of the Romish party, and the great rival of Mar. This nobleman was nearly allied to the Duke of Chastelherault, by the marriage of his eldest son, Lord Gordon, to the daughter of Hamilton; and both Huntly and the Duke, although separated by difference of religious faith, were jealous of the power of Mar, and enemies to the strict amity with England. Huntly, indeed, had felt keenly the neglect and want of confidence with which he had been treated by the Queen. She had received with coldness the advances made by him and his party immediately after the death of her husband; his offer to re-establish the ancient religion on her arrival in her dominions had been repelled; although he held the high office of Chancellor, and sat in the Privy Council, his influence was merely nominal, and, which cut deeper than all, he discovered that Mar intended to possess himself of the Earldom of Murray, an extensive and opulent appanage, of which he, for many years back, had enjoyed the revenues and wielded the power. Shortly before this, one of his sons, Sir John Gordon, having a private feud with Lord Ogilvy, had attacked

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 1st Aug., 1562.

and desperately wounded this nobleman in the streets of the capital. The assailant being seized and imprisoned, broke from his confinement and fled to his estates. Mary was exasperated; but the eloquence of the Countess, his mother, assuaged her resentment, and brought her son to reason. The offender appeared before his Sovereign, and was ordered to ward in the castle of Stirling. When on his road thither, he again repented of his submission,—escaped from his guards, and gathering a thousand horsemen, bid defiance to the royal power. Such was the state of things when Huntly heard of the Queen's resolution to visit his country, accompanied by Mar and her principal nobility. He had long envied the influence of that Earl with the Queen; and being strong in friends and possessed of almost sovereign authority in those northern districts, he seems to have had the temerity to believe that the moment had arrived when a revolution might be accomplished, which would rid him of his rival, and place in his hands the chief power of the Government. But Mary suspected his practices, and dreaded his ambition. On being pressed by him to visit his house at Strathbogy, of which the magnificence rivalled her own palaces, she declined paying that honour to the father of a rebel; and pushing forward to the castle of Inverness, where it was her intention to remain for some time, she found its gates insolently shut against her. On the place being summoned, it was answered by the captain, a retainer of Huntly's, that without the orders of Lord Gordon, for whom he held it, the castle should not

be given up. This was open rebellion; and Mary, having raised the force of the country, prepared to carry the place by assault. On this occasion the Queen evinced something of the warlike spirit of her ancestors. Instead of lamenting that she had engaged in a journey so full of peril, "she repented she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or walk the rounds with a jack and knapscull."[1] Her military aspirations, however, were not gratified by an actual siege; the captain having surrendered, was hanged; and Mary, although informed that Huntly watched to intercept her in the woods on the banks of the Spey, advanced against him; crossed the river without seeing an enemy, and returned at the head of three thousand men to Aberdeen. There was a romance and danger about the expedition which pleased the Queen, and awakened some knightly enthusiasm in Randolph, the English envoy, who accompanied her. "What desperate blows," says he, in his letter to Cecil, "would that day have been given, when every man should have fought in sight of so noble a Queen, and so many fair ladies, our enemies to have taken them from us, and we to save our honours and not to be bereft of them, your Honour may easily imagine."[2]

Huntly seems to have overrated his strength, but it was now too late to recede; and his animosity was

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 18th Sept. 1562.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 24th Sept. 1562. Randolph to Cecil.

stimulated to the highest pitch, by Mary rewarding Mar, on her return to Aberdeen, with the prize he had long coveted, the Earldom of Murray. He persuaded himself that nothing short of his ruin was contemplated, and having made a last and ineffectual attempt to mollify the royal resentment, he fortified his castles of Finleter, Achendown, and Strathbogy, assembled his vassals, and pushed rapidly to Aberdeen, in the hope of seizing the Queen. But the result was disastrous; as he marched forward, his force melted away, and with scarce five hundred men, he found himself attacked by the Earls of Murray, Morton and Athol at the head of two thousand men. The position where he made his last stand, was a hill, about twelve miles from the city. From this, being driven by the fire of the arquebuses into a low marshy level, he was set upon by the spearmen of Murray, and completely defeated, himself slain, whether by the sword, or suffocation from the weight of his armour, was uncertain, his two sons made prisoners, and the rest of his company either killed, dispersed, or taken.[1]

Sir John Gordon, the second son, who was reported to have been the chief contriver of this rebellion, and whose ambition aspired to the hand of the Queen, was immediately executed; and the body of Huntly, according to a savage feudal practice, after having been embowelled, was kept unburied till Parliament

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 2nd Nov. 1562. Also, same to same, 2nd Nov. 1562.

should pronounce upon it the sentence of treason (2nd Nov. 1562). His third son, Adam Gordon, a youth of eighteen, received a pardon; but the eldest, Lord Gordon, was found guilty of treason and imprisoned;—the immense estates of the family were seized by the crown, the title forfeited, and this all-potent house reduced in a moment to insignificance and beggary.

Some authors, guided by their prejudices, rather than their research, have imagined that the fate of this great baron may be traced to a premeditated conspiracy of Murray, who carried the Queen north, and prevailed on her to provoke Huntly into rebellion by her suspicions and neglect. This is mere conjecture: it is certain that the northern progress was planned by the Queen herself, and that her council, of whom Murray was the chief, so far from exciting Mary against Huntly, urged her to visit him at Strathbogy.[1] Sir John Gordon confessed his treasonable designs, and laid the burden of them on his father; two confidential servants of Huntly, Thomas Ker and his brother, acknowledged that their master, on three several occasions, had plotted to cut off Murray and Lethington; and the Queen herself, in a conversation with Randolph, thanked God for having delivered her enemy into her hand. "She declared," says this minister, who was an eye-witness and companion of the northern progress, "many a shameful

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edin. 10th Aug. 1562. Ibid. same to same, 31st Aug. 1562.

and detestable part that he thought to have used against her, as to have married her where he would, to have slain her brother, and whom other he liked; the places, the times, where it should have been done; and how easy a matter it was, if God had not preserved her.[1] It was natural that Murray should rejoice in the fall of so potent an enemy to the Protestant party, as Huntly. It is true that he availed himself of his offences to strengthen his own power, but that, prior to the rebellion, he had laid a base design to entrap him into treason, is an opinion founded on conjecture, and contradicted by fact.

Mary now returned to her capital (21st Nov. 1562) and devoted herself to the cares of Government; but the difficulties of her situation increased. War had begun (to use the words of Secretary Maitland) between the two countries of the earth which, next to her own, were most dear to her,[2] France and England, being descended of the blood of both of them by her father, and one of them by her mother. France was ready to urge her by the love she bore her relatives there, by the recollections of her early education in that country, and by the ties of a common faith, not to desert her friends when her assistance might be of essential benefit. Elizabeth, on the other hand, explained by her ambassador, the causes which

[1] MS. Letter St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 23rd Oct. 1562. Ibid., same to same, 28th Oct. 1562. Ibid., same to same, 2nd Nov. 1562.

[2] Keith, p. 232.

compelled her to send an army into France. The French King's subjects in Normandy, had urged her, she said, to relieve them from the unjust tyranny of the House of Guise, and as that Monarch was unable to give them assistance, she had entered into a treaty with the Prince of Condé, by which it was agreed he should receive support both in forces and money.[1]

When Randolph communicated this information to Mary, she did not dissemble her sorrow, nor conceal her affection for her uncles. "This" said she "I must say in their defence:—I believe them to be true subjects to their Prince, and that they do no more than execute his orders; but" she added, "that she was not so unreasonable as to condemn those who differed from her in opinion, still less was she inclined, on their account, to abate anything of the friendship she felt for his mistress, the Queen of England (2nd Nov. 1562). It was, in truth, scarcely possible for Elizabeth to entertain at this moment any serious fears of Mary's intrigues in France, when we find Randolph assuring Cecil, that she heard almost as seldom from that country as the King of Muscovy.[2]

Every thing, indeed, seemed to favour the growing strength of the party of the Congregation in Scotland: the fall of Huntly, the amity with England, the Queen's partiality to Murray, the decided favour

[1] MS. St. P. Off., Sir J. Williamson's Collection, 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 169, 179.

[2] St. P. Off., MS. Letter, Randolph to Cecil, 30th Dec., 1562.

shown to the Protestants, and the gentleness with which she pleaded for her uncles, all evinced a determination in the Queen, not to allow her personal convictions on the subject of religion to interfere with her duties as a Sovereign. It was only to be regretted that the conduct of Knox and the more violent of his brethren, occasionally excited feelings of resentment, when there was a predisposition to peace, and that his endeavours to secure the triumph of his party, (honest and disinterested as they undoubtedly were) were not always accompanied by sound discretion, or christian love. Even Randolph, their partial friend, was shocked by the manner in which the preachers prayed for the Queen. "They pray," says he, in his letter to Cecil, "that God will keep us from the bondage of strangers, and for herself, as much in effect as, that God will either turn her heart, or send her short life." He adds, sarcastically, "of what charity or spirit this proceedeth, I leave to be discussed by the great divines."[1] Although the Queen, as we learn from Lethington's letters, behaved towards the Reformer with much forbearance, it seems to have created no impression in her favour. As long as she retained her own faith, and permitted the celebration of mass in her private chapel, nothing could disarm his suspicions, appease his wrath, or check the personality of his attacks. His natural disposition was sarcastic, he had a strong sense of the ludicrous, and when provoked, his invectives were so minute, coarse, and

[1] MS. Letter, St. P., Off., Randolph to Cecil, 28th Feb. 1562-3.

humorous, that they alternately excited ridicule or indignation. Lethington scoffed, Morton commanded him to hold his peace, and Randolph, as we have seen, regretted that his proceedings had more zeal than charity.

News having arrived about this time of the restoration of peace to France, the Queen, who took a deep interest in her uncles, was disposed to be merry; and the Court, reflecting the countenance of the Prince, was much occupied in masques and dancing; but to the news of peace were added suspicions of an intended persecution of the Protestants, by the Guises, and Knox, grieving for his brethren, and scandalized at the prevailing gaieties, fulminated a complaint in the pulpit against the ignorance, tyranny and malevolence of Princes. His words were meant chiefly to apply to the Guises, but he was reported to have spoken irreverently of his Sovereign, and brought before her to answer for his attack. His defence, which he has himself preserved in his history, was calculated rather to aggravate than extenuate the provocation. "Madam," said he, "this is oftentimes the just recompense which God gives the stubborn of the world, that because they will not hear God speaking to the comfort of the penitent, and for amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the false report of others, to their great displeasure. I doubt not that it came to the ears of Herod, that our master Jesus Christ called him a fox, but they told him not how odious a thing it was before God, to murder an innocent, as he had

lately done before, causing to behead John the Baptist, to reward the dancing of a harlot's daughter. If the reporters of my words had been honest men, they would have repeated my words, and the circumstances of the same; but because they would have credit in court, and wanting virtue worthy thereof, they needs must have somewhat to please your Majesty, if it were but flatteries and lies; but such pleasure, if any your Majesty take in such persons, will turn to your everlasting displeasure; for, Madam, if your own ears had heard the whole matter that I treated, if there be in you any spark of the spirit of God, yea of honesty and wisdom, you would not justly have been offended with any thing that I spake. And because you have heard their report, please your Majesty to hear myself rehearse the same, so near as memory will serve (it was even next day after that the sermon was made). My text, Madam, was this 'and now, oh Kings, understand, be learned, ye judges of the earth.' After I had declared the dignity of Kings and Rulers, the honour wherein God has placed them, the obedience that is due unto them, being God's lieutenants, I demanded this question. But oh, alas, what account shall the most part of princes make before that supreme judge, whose throne and authority so manifestly and shamefully they abuse? The complaint of Solomon is this day most true, that violence and oppression do occupy the throne of God here on this earth, for whilst that murderers, bloodthirsty men, oppressors and malefactors dare be bold to present themselves before

kings and princes, and that the poor saints of God are banished and exiled, what shall we say, but that the devil hath taken possession in the throne of God, which ought to be a dread to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent and oppressed? And how can it be otherwise, for princes will not understand, they will not be learned as God commands them, but they despise God's law, his statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand? For in fiddling and flinging they are more exercised, than in reading or hearing God's most blessed word; and fiddlers and flatterers (which commonly corrupt youth) are more precious in their eyes, than men of wisdom and gravity, who by wholesome admonitions may beat down in them some part of that vanity and pride, wherein we are all born; but which in princes takes deep root and strength by evil education. And of dancing, Madam, I said, that albeit in Scripture I found no praise of it, and in profane writers, that it is termed the gesture rather of those that are mad and in frenzy, than of sober men; yet I do not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoided —the former, that the principal vocation of those that use that exercise, be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing, secondly, that they dance not as the Philistines, their fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of God's people; for if they do these, or either of them, they shall receive the reward of dancers, and that will be, to drink in hell, unless they repent." "Your words are sharp enough even now," said Mary; "and yet, they were told me in another

manner. You and my uncles are not of one religion, and I do not blame you for conceiving so ill an opinion of them; but for myself, if you disapprove of aught, come to myself, speak openly, and I shall hear you." "Madam," answered Knox, "I am assured that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto his Son Jesus Christ, and for the maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, that they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents, and, therefore, I am assured, their enterprises shall have no better success than others have had, who before them have done as they do now."[1]

A melancholy story soon after occurred, which in some measure justified Knox in his censure of the licentious manners of the Court. Mary, who was passionately fond of music, had shown much favour to Chartellet, a French gentleman of good family, highly skilled in that science, and in other respects, a handsome and accomplished person. Such encouragement[2] from a beautiful woman, and a Queen, turned the unfortunate man's head; he aspired to her love, and in a fit of amorous frenzy, hid himself in the royal bed-chamber,

[1] Knox, pp. 334, 335. The time of this conversation between the Reformer and the Queen, is fixed by a passage in a MS. Letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated 16th Dec. 1562, St. P. Off. "Upon Sunday last, he (Knox) inveighed sore against the Queen's dancing, and little exercise of herself in virtue and godliness. The report hereof being brought unto her ears, *yesterday*, she sent for him, she talked long time with him, little liking there was between them, of the one or the other, yet did they so depart, as no offence or slander did rise thereon."

[2] Keith, p. 231.

where some minutes before she entered it, he was discovered by her female attendants. The circumstance was not disclosed to the Queen till the succeeding morning, when with an ill-judged lenity she contented herself with commanding him to leave the Court. Desperate in his attachment, however, he secretly followed her to Burnt Island, and at night, when the Queen was stepping into bed, and none beside her but her ladies, Chartellet again started from a recess, where he had concealed himself. The shrieks of the women soon roused the Court, and when seized by those who rushed in, on hearing the uproar in the royal apartment, he audaciously acknowledged that he had meditated an attempt on the honour of the Queen. Mary, glowing with indignation at the insult, commanded Murray, who first ran to her succour, to stab him with his dagger; but he preferred securing him to this summary vengeance: a formal trial followed, and the miserable man was condemned and executed within two days after his offence.[1] On the scaffold, instead of having recourse to his missal or breviary, he drew from his pocket a volume of Ronsard, and reading the poet's hymn to death, resigned himself to his fate with gaiety and indifference.[2] It was a lamentable spectacle; men blamed, but at the same time pitied him; they had not forgotten the recent flight of Captain Hepburn, who

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 28th Feb. 1562-3.

[2] Brantome, vol. ii. p. 332. Randolph, says, he died with repentance.

had behaved with brutal indelicacy to Mary; it seemed strange that within a short time, two such outrageous insults should have been offered, and some did not scruple to blame the indiscriminate condescension of the Queen, whose love of admiration made her sometimes forget the dignity and reserve, which is so sure a protection of female purity.[1]

Shortly after this, the Scottish Queen became disturbed by a rumour, that some measures prejudicial to her right of succession, were contemplated in the English Parliament, and she dispatched Lethington to England, that he might watch over her interests (12th Feb. 1562-3).[1] He was enjoined not only to attend to the affair of the succession, but to endeavour to promote a reconciliation between Elizabeth and the party of the Guises, and after he had concluded his transactions, to pass over to France with the same object. The Secretary undertook the mission with reluctance,[2] yet, with his usual ability, he succeeded in accomplishing the most important of his objects. No discussion of Mary's title took place, and the good understanding between the two Queens continued, apparently at least, as firm as before.

It was beyond his power, however, to heal the wounds of France, and although Mary in pathetic and earnest terms, offered herself as a mediatrix

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Murray to Cecil, 12th. Feb. 1562-3. Keith, p. 235, complains that the date of Maitland's Mission is *irrecoverably* lost. It is *fixed* by the above letter.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 6th Feb. 1562-3.

between her good sister, Elizabeth, and that country, the recent course of events there, had assumed an aspect which precluded all hopes of success, and were viewed by her, with the deepest emotions. A zealous Romanist, and warmly attached to her uncles, she watched with interest, the progress of events, and rejoiced in the successes, which at Bruges, Rouen, and Dreux, attended the arms of the Duke of Guise; but, she was shocked with the ferocious character which the war had assumed; it was melancholy to see the country which was so dear to her, the land of her infancy, where she had passed her happiest years, flooded with the blood of its citizens; its towns stormed and razed, and its brave nobility opposed in mortal strife to each other; even the news of their successes raised such conflicting feelings, that she heard them with tears,[1] and on receiving accounts of the assassination of the Duke of Guise, her grief was poignant;[2] yet she continued to make every effort for the restoration of concord in that country, and the preservation of amity with England. The insincerity and caprice of Elizabeth; the intrigues of Randolph, who secretly encouraged Scottish volunteers to assist the Huguenots;[3] the violence and suspicion of Knox, which even Randolph pronounced

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 5th Jan. 1562-3.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 18th March, 1562-3.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 10th March, 1562-3. Randolph to Cecil.

unreasonable,[1] and the intrigues of Cecil, could not deter her from that upright policy, which persuaded her, that many sacrifices should be made, rather than break with England. She was cast down, indeed, when she beheld the increasing difficulties which were gathering around her, and the letters of the English Minister present us with many painful pictures of her grief and embarrassment. Yet, when Cecil was disposed to doubt her sincerity, the same acute observer derides the vain fears of this statesman, and bears testimony to the friendly disposition of the Queen, her councillors, and her people, towards England.

The two great objects which now filled Mary's mind, and employed the earnest deliberations of her Ministers were her right of succession to the English throne, and her marriage. On both points she was anxious, as indeed, it was her interest, to consult the wishes of Elizabeth.[2] She had now remained in a widowed state for three years: she was convinced that a speedy mariage was the best measure for herself and her kingdom; her opinion was fortified by that of Murray and Lethington, and her hand had been already sought by the King of Sweden, the infant of Spain, and the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor; yet Elizabeth, although ever ready to

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 16th. Dec. 1562.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 15th May, 1563.—Keith, p. 239, printed in Robertson's Appendix, No. vii.

oppose every foreign match, continued to preserve much mystery in stating her own wishes on the subject. It was evident it could not long suit the dignity of an independent Princess to listen to ingenious objections, and repress every royal suitor in submission to the wishes of a sister Queen. About this time, a report having reached the English Court, that the successful candidate was one of the Emperor's lineage, Cecil wrote in much alarm to Murray, who replied with firmness, and good sense, that nothing serious had been yet concluded. But he added, that neither was it for her honour, nor could he advise her, to repress the suit of Princes, however deeply interested in the continuance of the friendship between the two Queens, and the mutual love and quietness of their subjects.[1]

Mary's difficulties, however, arose not merely from the interference and jealousy of the English Queen, and the mysterious diplomacy of Cecil. The violence of the party which was headed by Knox and the reformed preachers, occasioned her infinite disquiet, and was at length carried to such a height as to occasion a schism amongst the Protestants themselves. We have seen that this party disapproved entirely of the lenity with which Mary had been permitted the private exercise of her religion. The laxity with which the enactments against the mass were carried into execution excited their constant suspicion, and they persuaded themselves it was in

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Earl of Murray to Cecil, 23d Sep. 1563.

vain to look for the favour of God till Presbyterianism, in its most rigid form, was established throughout the country. In this view, some whispers which began to float about, regarding the marriage of Mary to a noble person recommended by Elizabeth, and as a basis of this union, the restoration of complete amity between the two Queens, gave them no little alarm. They knew the aversion of the English Queen, as well as of Mary, to the form of worship which they believed the only system founded on Scripture, and it was really more tolerable for them to see their royal mistress a confirmed Papist and the enemy of England, than the friend and (as had been anticipated, more than once by Randolph and Lethington) the convert of Elizabeth, to the Church of England.

To excite suspicions and interrupt the good understanding between the two Queens, became, therefore, a favourite object with Knox, and the more violent of the Reformers. They did not hesitate to blame Murray and Lethington for their anxiety to accomplish an interview, and traversed their praiseworthy efforts, by representing all the friendship professed by Mary, as hollow and insidious. And yet, even from Knox himself, we learn some facts, which might have convinced him of the contrary.

During the absence of Lethington in England, the Papists encouraged by the Bishop of St. Andrew's, and the Prior of Whithorn, had disregarded the Queen's proclamation. Mass was celebrated secretly

in many private houses, and when this was found dangerous, the votaries of the Romish faith fled into the woods and mountains, where amidst their silent solitudes, they adhered to the worship of their fathers.[1] Upon this, the Presbyterians, despairing, as they alleged, of any redress of such abuse, from the Queen, took the law into their own hands, pursued and seized some Priests and sent word to the Romish Clergy, that henceforth they would neither complain to the Queen or Council, but with their own hands, execute upon Idolaters, the punishment contained in God's word.[2] Mary, justly alarmed at this, called for Knox, and remonstrated in earnest terms. She recommended toleration, and argued with him upon the cruelty of religious persecution. The Reformer pleaded the laws in force against Idolatry; these, he said, it was the duty of princes to execute; if they failed so to do, others must do it for them; nor would God be offended if men, who feared Him, albeit, neither Kings nor magistrates, took it upon them to inflict judgment. "Samuel," said he, "spared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate King of Amalek, whom Saul had saved, nor did Elias spare Jezabel's prophets, and Baal's Priests, although King Achab stood by. Phinehas was no magistrate, but he feared not to strike Zimri and Cozbi." These examples proved," he contended, "that subjects might lawfully punish, although they

[1] Randolph to Cecil, 1st May, 1563.—Keith, 239.

[2] Knox, p 352.

were not clothed with the authority of the magistrate; but he besought the Queen not to compel any one to this last resource, but herself administer the laws. Think, madam," he concluded, "think of the mutual contract, and the mutual duties between yourself and your subjects. They are bound to obey you. Ye are bound to keep the laws unto them. You crave of them service—they demand of you protection and defence against wicked doers." [1]

This bold exposition produced a favourable effect, Mary, for the moment, seemed offended, but soon after she sent for Knox, who met her next day as she pursued her pastime of hawking. Their interview was amicable—almost confidential. The Queen alluding to the intended election of a superintendant for Dumfries and the adjacent country, warned the Reformer against the Bishop of Caithness, who was a candidate for that preferment, and she informed him with great frankness, that his reasoning of yesterday had convinced her, that the offenders should be summoned, and justice duly administered.[2]

Nor was this promise forgotten. On the 19th of May, a few days before the meeting of Parliament, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, the Prior of Whithorn, the Parson of Sanquhar, and other Papists, were arraigned before Argile, the Justice General, for the crime of celebrating mass; and, having pleaded

[1] Knox, p. 353.

[2] Knox, p. 354, 19th May, 1563.

guilty, were subjected to a temporary imprisonment.[1]

The Parliament now met, and was held with unusual pomp. Mary, surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade, rode in procession to the Tolbooth, where the Estates assembled; the hall was crowded, not only by the members, but glittered with the splendid dresses of the royal household and the ladies of the court, who surrounded the throne and filled the galleries. The extreme beauty of the Queen, and the grace with which she delivered the address, in which she opened the proceedings, surprised and delighted her people; many exclaimed, "May God save that sweet face! she speaks as properly as the best orator among them!"[2]

Amidst this general enthusiasm, the preachers took great offence at the liberty of the French manners, and the extravagance of the foreign dresses. "They spake boldly," says Knox, "against the superfluities of their clothes, and affirmed, that the vengeance of God would fall, not only on the foolish women, but on the whole realm. To check the growing licentiousness, an attempt was made to introduce a sumptuary law; articles against apparel were drawn up, and it was proposed to take order with other abuses; but, to the extreme mortification of the Reformer, he

[1] Knox, p. 356.—Keith, p. 239. MS. Letter, St.P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 28th Feb., 1562-3. Also Keith, p. 239. From the shattered MS. Randolph to Cecil, 20th May, 1563.

[2] Knox, p. 357.—Randolph to Cecil, 3d June, 1563.—Keith, p. 239. The address had been written in French, but she translated it, and spoke it in English.

was arrested in his career of legislation by the hand of the Lord James. This powerful minister, deemed it impolitic at this moment to introduce these enactments. "The Queen," he said, "had kept her promises, the religion was established, the mass-mongers were punished, if they carried things too high, she would hold no Parliament at all." Knox smiled significantly—Mar, he hinted, trembled for his new Earldom of Murray, and all must be postponed to have his grant confirmed, lest Mary should repent of her munificence; he denounced in strong terms, such selfish motives, reminded him of his solemn engagements to the Church, and accused him of sacrificing truth to convenience, and the service of his God to the interests of his ambition." The proud spirit of Murray could not brook such an attack, and he replied with asperity; the two friends parted in anger, and the Reformer increased the estrangement by addressing a letter in which, in his usual plain and vehement style of reproof, he exonerated himself of all further care in his lordship's affairs, committing him to the guidance of his own understanding, whose dictates he preferred to the advancement of the truth. "I praise my God," said he, "I leave you victor over your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in authority with your Sovereign. Should this continue, none will be more glad than I; but if you decay, (as I fear ye shall) then call to mind by what means the Most High exalted you. It was neither by trifling with impiety, nor maintaining pestilent Papists." So incensed was Murray with this remon-

strance, that for a year and a half, he and Knox scarcely exchanged words together.[1]

Far from being intimidated by this desertion, the Reformer seized the opportunity of the Parliament to address the nobility upon the subject of God's mercies to them as a commonwealth, and their own ingratitude. He had been with them, he declared, in their most desperate temptations; he was now with them in the days of their success and forgetfulness, and it was some relief to pour forth the sorrows of his heart, to remind them of the perils they had survived—to warn them of the duties they had neglected. "I see" said he, getting animated in his subject, and suddenly stretching out his arms, as if he would leap from the pulpit and arrest the vision passing before him,[2] "I see before me the beleaguered camp at St. Johnston. I see your meeting on Couper Muir; I hear the tramp of the horsemen as they charged you in the streets of Edinburgh; and, most of all, is that dark and dolorous night now present to my eyes, in which all of you, my Lords, in shame and fear left this town—and God forbid I should ever forget it; what was then I say, my exhortation unto you? And what is fallen in vain of all that God ever promised you by my mouth. Speak, I say, for ye yourselves live to testify. There is not one of you against whom death and destruction was threatened, who hath perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? And

[1] Knox, p. 357.

[2] Melvil's Diary, p. 26. "He was like to ding the pulpit in blads (tatters) and flie out of it."

is this to be the thankfulness ye shall render unto your God, to betray his cause, when you have it in your hands to establish it as you please? The Queen says, 'ye will not agree with her.' Ask of her that which by God's word ye may justly require, and if she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her faction in the devil. Let her plainly understand so far of your minds; forsake not your former courage in God's cause, and be assured, he will prosper you in your enterprises. And now, my Lords," he concluded, "to put an end to all, I hear of the Queen's marriage—Dukes, brethren to Emperors and Kings, strive all for the best gain. But this, my Lords, will I say, note the day, and bear witness hereafter. Whenever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel (and all Papists are infidels) shall be head to our Sovereign, ye do as far as in you lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realm, and to bring God's vengeance on the country." [1]

This extraordinary licence, and the boldness with which the Reformer availed himself of his sacred character to attack the Sovereign, and dictate to the Council, called forth the indignation, both of Papists and Protestants.[2] He was summoned to answer before the Queen, and coming to court after dinner was brought into her cabinet by Erskine of Dun, the

[1] Knox, p. 359.

[2] Knox, p. 359. "These words," says he, "and this manner of speaking was judged intolerable. Papists and Protestants were both offended."

superintendant of Lothian, Mary, whose feelings were keen, upbraided him with his ingratitude—she had borne, she said, with all his severest censures; she had sought his friendship, had offered him audience and preferment, but all in vain; nothing would mollify, nothing would silence him; as she said this, she began to weep, and lament aloud, exclaiming, that he had nothing to do with her marriage, and warning him with broken words and passionate gestures, to beware of her revenge. As soon as he could be heard, Knox attempted to defend himself, affirming, that in the pulpit, he was not master of himself, but must obey His commands who had bade him speak plain, and flatter no flesh; as for the favours which had been offered to him, his vocation, he said, was neither to wait in the courts of princes, nor in the chambers of ladies, but to preach the gospel." "I grant it so," reiterated the Queen, "but what have you to do with my marriage, or, what are you within the commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same," said the Reformer, "and albeit, Madam, neither Baron, Lord, nor belted Earl, yet hath God made me, how abject soever in your eyes, a useful and profitable member. As such, it is my duty, as much as that of any one of the nobility, to forewarn the people of danger, and, therefore, what I have said in public, I here repeat to your own face. Whenever the nobility of this realm shall so far forget themselves, as to consent that you shall be subject to an unlawful husband, they do as much as

in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, betray the freedom of the realm, and, perchance, may be but cold friends to yourself."[1]

This new attack brought on a still more passionate burst of tears, and Mary, who could scarcely be appeased by the soothing speeches of the Laird of Dun, commanded Knox to quit the apartment. In obeying this, a scene occurred which was strikingly characteristic. The Reformer passing into the outer chamber found himself shunned and avoided by the nobles of the court, who looked strangely on him, as if they had never known him before. His temper was not however of the kind to be cast down by the desertion of these summer friends, and observing a circle of the ladies of the Queen's household sitting near, in their gorgeous apparel, he could not depart without a word of admonition. "Ah, fair ladies," said he, between jest and earnest, "how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end we might pass to heaven with this gear! But fie on that knave, Death—that will come whether ye will or not, and when he hath laid on the arrest, then foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and tender, and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it, gold, garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones."[2] In the midst of these speeches, the Laird

[1] This must have been in May, 1563. Knox, p. 361.

[2] Knox, p. 361. "He *merrily* said." The speech is in the very vein of Hamlet. "Get ye to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come—Make her laugh at that."

of Dun came out of the Queen's cabinet, and requested him to go home, nor does it appear that Mary took any further notice of his officious and uncalled-for interference with her marriage.

When Lethington returned from his prolonged embassy to England and France, he expressed much indignation against the violence of Knox and his party; he affirmed that the reports which they had raised, regarding a match with Spain, tended directly to excite the jealousy of Elizabeth, and to create unworthy suspicions between the Scottish Queen and her Protestant subjects. To discredit the Reformer, who had already quarrelled with Murray, became his great object, and this added bitterness to the schism which divided the more moderate, from the more violent, of the Protestants. We cannot wonder, indeed, that the fearless and declared opposition of this extraordinary man, who possessed great power, not only over his own friends, but over the people, provoked and thwarted so refined and crafty a politician as Lethington; and as Knox corresponded with Cecil, and was indefatigable in procuring secret information both from England and the continent, the secretary found him no easy enemy to deal with.

Not long after the return of Lethington, and when every proceeding on the part of Mary and her ministers was dictated by an anxious desire to conciliate Elizabeth, the Reformer, instead of seconding these efforts, addressed to Cecil a letter full of suspicion and alarm. He assured him that out of

the twelve who formed the Queen's Council, nine had been gained over to that, which, in the end, would prove their destruction.[1] Every thing, he added, depended on the firmness of Murray; if he failed, or faltered, all was lost. As for himself, he declared, he was prepared for the worst, and had little to fear on his own account, but it was lamentable to see the dark cloud of calamities, which were preparing to burst upon his country, and all because men must follow the inordinate affections of her, who was born to be the plague of her realm. The key to part of this despondency is to be found in a sentence of the same letter, which alluding to a late progress of the Queen, informed Cecil, that "the conveying of the mass through these quarters, which longest had been best reformed, had dejected the hearts of many and caused him to disclose the plainness of a troubled heart.[2] Yet, although, probably he was over excited, and too much alarmed, it is certain that Knox had good ground to believe that intrigues for the marriage of the Queen with some foreign potentate of her own religion, were then secretly agitated both in Scotland and on the continent.

It was probably her conviction of the truth of this, which at the last drove Elizabeth from all her delays and excuses, and compelled her to point out plainly to Mary, some prince or noble person, whom she judged worthy of her hand. To the astonishment of her council, she proposed her favourite

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Knox to Cecil, 5th Oct. 1563.

[2] Ibid. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Knox to Cecil, 5th Oct. 1563.

Leicester, then the Lord Robert Dudley, and sent instructions to Randolph to sound the inclinations of the Scottish Queen, and confer with Murray and Lethington upon the subject. As however, he was not yet authorized to give the name,[1] these wary ministers, although they saw to whom he pointed hesitated to meddle in so delicate a matter. They suspected, and not without good ground, the sincerity of the English Queen, and hinted, that considering the affection which bound her to Dudley, and him to his royal mistress, it could not be believed that she would part with her lover, or he be so base as to forsake her, even for a crown.[2] Randolph's perplexity in conducting these nice and difficult negotiations, was strongly expressed in a letter, which at this time he addressed to Cecil. "To persuade the Queen of Scotland," he observed, "to marry any man under the rank of a prince, would be a dangerous and dishonourable task for any subject to adventure, and even, if Mary was ready to forget her royal dignity, and listen for a moment to the proposal of Elizabeth, there remained, he said, a greater difficulty behind. In offering the noblest in England, none could be at a loss to divine who was meant. But how unwilling (he continued) the Queen's Majesty herself would be to depart from him, and how hardly his

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 21st Feb. 1563-4, Randolph to Cecil. "For whom the Queen's Majesty's Instructions licenseth me not to name, of him it shall not almost become me to have one word."

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 21st Feb., 1563-4.

mind could be divorced or drawn from that worthy room where it is placed, let any man see, where it cannot be thought, but it is so fixed for ever, that the world would judge worse of him, than of any living man, if he should not rather yield his life, than alter his thoughts. Wherefore, this they (he alludes to Murray and Lethington) conclude, as well for her Majesty's part, as for him who is so happy to be so far in her Grace's favour, that if this Queen would wholly put herself into Elizabeth's will, as to receive a husband of her selecting," either she should not have the best, or at least match herself with him, that hath his mind placed already elsewhere, or if it can be withdrawn from thence, she shall take a man, unworthy from his disloyalty and inconstancy to marry with any, much less with a Queen. Whereupon, they knowing both their affections, and judging them inseparable, think, rather that no such thing is meant on my Sovereign's part, and that all these offers bear a greater show of goodwill, than any good meaning."[1]

Hitherto Randolph had not been permitted to name any one; but shortly after, Elizabeth having caught alarm at the continued intrigues for the marriage of Mary with some foreign prince, sent him a more distinct commission on the subject; and, choosing a moment when Murray and Lethington were at the Council, and Mary slenderly attended,

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 21st. Feb. 1563-4.

he informed her of the wishes of his mistress, and named Lord Robert Dudley. She complained that, after long delay, he was now needlessly precipitate, and had taken her by surprise. She looked, she said, to have heard of peace between France and England, and of no such difficult matter as he had abruptly introduced. The English minister urged the necessity of a speedy decision on so important a point as her marriage, and the fair and honourable offer which was now made her. "Your own mistress," replied Mary, "has been somewhat longer of deciding than I have been, and you know she hath counselled me to have regard to three points, whereof the special one was honour. Now, think you, Master Randolph, that it will be honourable in me to imbase my state, and marry one of her subjects. Is this conformable to her promise to use me as her sister or daughter, to advise me to marry my Lord Robert; to ally myself with her own subject?"[1]

To this Randolph, waving the point most difficult to answer, urged the advantage which might result to the tranquillity and happiness of both kingdoms, and intimated that the Queen of England, by the honour and preferments with which she intended to endow Dudley, would render him not unworthy of so exalted an alliance. Mary perceived he wished her to believe that his mistress might acknowledge her right of succession, and settle the kingdom upon

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 30th March, 1563-4, Randolph to Cecil.

her and Dudley; but even this did not tempt her. "Where is my assurance," said she, "in this? What if the Queen, your mistress, should marry herself, and have children? What have I then gotten; who will say I have acted wisely to take this step, which requires long consideration, on so sudden a proposal as this? I have conferred with no one, and although willing not to mistrust your mistress, the adventure is too great." In reply, Randolph begged the Queen to speak on the subject to Murray, Lethington, and Argile. She agreed; and communicated Elizabeth's proposal to them the same day after supper; but Lethington informed the English envoy, that although his mistress was pleased that, after so much obscure dealing, the Queen of England at last began to speak plainly, she deemed it prudent, when all was yet so vague, to give no more definite answer than that sent to her last letter.[1]

If the English Queen had been sincere in this proposal; had she consented, as the basis of Mary's marriage with Dudley, to acknowledge her right of succession, and agreed to confirm it by an act of the legislature, setting the Crown upon their children, Murray and Lethington were ready to use all their influence to promote the union, and it is very probable that the Scottish Queen would have embraced the offer.[2] Upon no other supposition can we account for her conduct during this trying and tantalizing

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 30th March, 1564.

[2] On the 18th March, 1563-4, the Queen issued a Proclamation, declaring her determination to support the "Religion" as she found it on her arrival.—MS. Book of Privy Council, f. 127.

negotiation. She exhibited no indignation when the overture was first made by Randolph; she bore every delay with patience, and evinced every disposition to oblige Elizabeth. At her request and earnest recommendation, the Earl of Lennox, who had for many years been banished from Scotland, and whose proceedings against his native country had been hostile and treasonable, obtained permission to return, and was allowed to hope that his royal mistress would receive him with favour. For some time nothing had been said of the intended interview between the two Queens, and it had broken off on the part of Elizabeth; but when this Princess now suddenly renewed her proposal for a meeting, although Mary's ministers, aware that it was merely a colour for delay, declined the overture, the Scottish Queen herself was grieved that they did so, and earnestly desired it.[2]

On her part, therefore, and in the conduct of Murray and Lethington, everything at this moment was open and friendly. On the side of Elizabeth and Cecil, on the other hand, there had been pursued, for the last three years, such a complicated system of delay, mystery, and caprice, as to create a suspicion in the minds of the Scottish ministers that the English Queen was really hostile to the marriage, that she

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Elizabeth to Mary. Draft by Cecil. 16th June, 1563. Also, MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lennox to Cecil, 10th March, 1563-4.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 5th June, 1564. Also Same to Lord Robert Dudley. Same date.

had not the slightest intention of giving up Leicester; and still less of settling the succession upon Mary. "If," said Lethington, addressing Cecil, "a conjunction be really meant, and you will prosecute the means to draw it on, which were opened up by the Queen my mistress's last answer, I doubt not but you will find conformity enough on this part; but if time be always driven without farther effect than hath yet followed upon any message which hath passed between them these three years, I am of opinion he shall in the end think himself most happy who hath least meddled in the matter. Gentle letters, good words, and pleasant messages be good means to begin friendship amongst princes; but I take them to be too slender bands to hold it fast."[1] He then adds a remark which is strikingly descriptive of Cecil's mysterious diplomacy. "In these great causes between our Sovereigns, I have ever found that fault with you, that as in your letters you always wrote obscurely, so in private communications you seldom uttered your own judgment. You might well *academico more* dispute *in utramque partem*, leaving me in suspense to collect what I would. So, I fear, in giving advice you will walk so warily, rather (being intent) to speak nothing that may any time thereafter hurt yourself, than to speak all things that might further the matter; and I will confess I have of late enforced my natural (disposition) to learn this same lesson of you, for the

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. 6th June, 1564.

reverence I bear you, that your manner of doing serves me for instruction to direct my proceeding. Marry, I fear the common affairs do not fare a whit the better for our too great wariness."[1]

Elizabeth was at last driven by the conduct of Mary and her ministers, to that perplexity which is the general fate of duplicity when opposed to plain and direct dealing. As a last pretext for delay, she availed herself of some secret information transmitted by Knox to Randolph, regarding the alleged intrigues of Lennox in Scotland.

This highly-allied noble had, as we have seen, obtained permission to return to that country a short time before this,[2] and at the earnest entreaty of Elizabeth, Mary promised to lend a favourable ear to his suits. Strictly speaking, Lennox was still an outlaw, for the sentence of his forfeiture could only be removed by an act of the legislature; yet the entreaty of the English Queen, the recommendation of Cecil, and the powerful interest of Murray and the secretary Lethington, were successfully exerted

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. 6th June, 1564.

[2] The return of Lennox to Scotland is stated by Keith, p. 254, to have been on the 27th September; and the same accurate author corrects the error of Buchanan and Spottiswood, who place his return in September, 1563. The Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 77, states that Lennox came to Edinburgh on the 24th September. From a letter of Bedford to Cecil, MS. St. P. Off., dated 25th September, 1564, compared with another letter from the Same to he same, dated 19th September, MS. St. P. Off., B.C., I believe this authority to be correct.

in his behalf. Randolph also had instructions from Elizabeth to promote his views; and when about to leave the English Court, he not only received Mary's permission, under her great seal, to re-visit his native country, but was flattered with the hope that his forfeiture would be removed, and himself replaced in the high station which belonged to his birth.

This anticipated restoration caused immediate alarm to Knox and his party. It was more than suspected that both Lennox and his son were Papists; and the Reformer, in a gloomy letter to Randolph, strongly deprecated their return.[1] His fears were instantly communicated to Elizabeth, and this Princess, who was watching for a pretext to delay any negotiation on the subject of the marriage with Dudley, eagerly availed herself of this circumstance to commence a fresh system of duplicity and delay. She instantly took steps to detain the Earl in England; and, although it was to gratify her own wishes, most earnestly expressed to Lethington that Mary had consented to receive him into favour; yet, with extraordinary inconsistency, she now commanded Cecil to address letters to Murray and Lethington, requiring them to persuade the Scottish Queen to revoke her promise, and countermand his return into her kingdom. These able men, however, at once detected her object, and met her with a peremptory refusal. The correspondence which passed upon the subject is extremely

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., ——— 3rd, 1564. The date, I suspect, (from internal evidence, and a comparison with other letters) must be 3rd of September.

important, in reference to the events which soon after occurred; and their reply to Cecil was so sarcastic and severe, that it gave offence both to the English Queen and her pliant minister.[1] Alluding to the secret information which the English secretary had stated he had received from some of his best friends in Scotland, "I cannot tell," said Lethington, "whom you take to be your best friends; but I think you ought to judge those to be best, who most earnestly go about to maintain quietness between the two realms, and intelligence between the Princesses, wherein I am well assured my Lord of Murray and myself have done as good offices as any other, and for us I am bold to say, neither of us have any misliking in the matter; but rather have been instruments to further than to hinder his coming, and if any other report of our meaning be made from hence, the author thereof (he here probably alludes to Knox) hath followed his own passion, being nothing privy to our intents, abusing our names on a purpose which we do not allow."[2]

He next adverted to the sudden change in the Queen's mind upon the subject of Lennox's return. That Elizabeth should now oppose it, was "not a little marvellous," he observed, "seeing how earnestly her Majesty did recommend unto me my Lord of Lennox's cause and my Lady's, at my last being in

[1] Elizabeth's Instructions to Randolph, 4th October, 1564. Keith, p. 257.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 13th July, 1564.

that Court; nay," he continues, "suddenly after I had taken my leave, you yourself, at her Majesty's commandment, did send after me by post her letters to the Queen's Majesty, my mistress, very affectionate in their favour, willing me to present the same with recommendation from the Queen." He next remarks, that the sole cause which had moved him to exert his influence for Lennox, was the request of the English Queen, which he believes also to have been his chief recommendation to Mary. "And now," says he, "having once, under her great seal, permitted him liberally to come, it will be a hard matter to persuade her Majesty to revoke it; and I dare little presume to enter into any such communication with her Majesty, knowing how much she doth respect her honour where promise is once passed, and how unwilling she is to change her deliberations, being once resolved; which," he adds, "as she will not do herself, so doth she altogether mislike in all others."

He then alludes to Knox's apprehensions regarding the effects which Lennox's return might produce upon the state of the reformed religion. "The religion here," says he, "doth not depend upon my Lord of Lennox's coming, neither do those of the religion hang upon the sleeves of any one or two that may mislike his coming. For us, whether he come or not come, I take to be no great matter, up or down. Marry, that the stay should grow upon the Queen's Majesty's side here, it should somewhat touch her Majesty in honour, having once permitted his license so freely; unless she might shadow the change of her mind by

the Queen, her good sister's request, and forbid it for her pleasure, which I perceive is not your Sovereign's meaning; who wishes[1] she would take the matter upon herself, which she thinketh too hard."[2] Murray, in a letter of the same date as the above, which he addressed to Cecil, expressed himself in terms more brief, but still more emphatic. "As to the faction," says he, "that his coming might make for the matters of religion, thanks to God, our foundation is not so weak that we have cause to fear if he had the greatest subject of this realm joined to him, seeing we have the favour of our Prince and liberty of our conscience in such abundance as our hearts can wish. It will neither be he, nor I, praised be God, can hinder or alter religion hereaway, and his coming or remaining in that cause will be to small purpose."[3] The English Queen had addressed to Mary a letter at the same time, and to the same effect; but she replied with so much spirit, and used so little care to conceal her opinion of such inconsistent conduct, that Elizabeth was deeply offended.[4]

Thus foiled in this secret intrigue against Lennox, Elizabeth withdrew her opposition. She had been careful to have all evidence of it destroyed,[5] and to

[1] In the Original, "who would."

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 13th July, 1564.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off, Earl of Murray to Cecil, 13th July, 1564.

[4] Melvil's Memoirs, p. 116. Bannat. Edin.

[5] Lethington says to Cecil, "I have used the best means I could to recover the Queen's letter, that I might have returned it again

the world, therefore, everything appeared open, and consistent. The Earl received her license to leave England, and on the 23rd of September, he arrived in Edinburgh, bringing with him a strong letter of recommendation from the English Queen,[1] which Mary, who knew her real sentiments, must have read with no very favourable opinion of her sincerity. This princess was then absent, on a northern progress, but she returned before the end of the month, and Lennox, having been invited by his royal mistress to present himself at Court, obeyed her injunction with much state and ceremony. He rode to the palace of Holyrood, having twelve gentlemen before him, splendidly mounted and clothed in black velvet; behind him came a troop of thirty attendants bearing his arms and livery: having dismounted, the Queen instantly sent for him, and their interview which took place in the presence of the nobility was flattering and cordial.[2] Mary immediately communicated these particulars to Elizabeth, informing her, that from her anxiety to show deference to her request, she had not only already given the Earl some proof of her goodwill, but meant also to "proceed further to his full restitution, whereby he should be able to enjoy the privileges of a subject, the liberty of his native

to her highness, but I was answered, that the letter was burnt at her own request. * * I have, according to your desire, returned unto you, your own letter."

[1] Keith, p. 254.

[2] Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 77.

country, and his old titles.[1]" Soon after, the restored Lord invited Randolph to dinner, and the ambassador wrote to Cecil an account of the entertainment which proves, that the Scottish Queen had been as good as her word. "I dined with my Lord of Lennox," said he, "being by him required in the morning. I found nothing less for the beautifying and furniture of his lodging than your honour hath heard by report; the house well hanged, two chambers, very well furnished, one special rich and fair bed, where his lordship lieth himself, and a passage made through the wall to come the next way into court when he will. I see him honourably used of all men, and that the Queen's self hath good liking of his behaviour. There dined with him the Earl of Athol, in whom he reposes singular trust, and they are seldom asunder, saving when the Earl of Lennox is at the sermon (Athol was a Roman Catholic). There was also his brother, the Bishop of Caithness, a Protestant, who sometimes preacheth. His lordship's cheer is great and his house held many, though he hath dispatched divers of his train away. He findeth occasion to disburse money very fast, and of his 700*l.* brought with him, I am sure that much is not left. If he tarry long, Lennox may, perchance, be to him a dear purchase. He gave the Queen a marvellous fair and rich jewell, whereof there is made no small account, a clock, and a dial curiously wrought and

[1] Keith, p. 254, Mary to Elizabeth. Keith printed from a contemporary copy, which leaves the day of the month blank. The original is in the State Paper Office, dated 28th Sept., 1564.

set with stones, and a looking glass, very richly set with stones, in the four metals; to my Lord of Lethington, a very fair diamond in a ring; to my Lord Athol, another, as also somewhat to his wife—I know not what—to divers others somewhat, but to my Lord of Murray, nothing. He presented also, each of the Marys with such pretty things as he thought fittest for them; such good means he hath to win their hearts, and to make his way to farther effect. The bruit is here, that my Lady herself, and my Lord Darnley are coming after, insomuch that some have asked me, if she were upon the way. This I find, that there is here marvellous good liking of the young Lord, and many that desire to have him here.[1]"

Whilst Lennox found himself thus happily restored after so long a banishment, and when Mary enjoyed the satisfaction of extending to him her favour and forgiveness, Elizabeth's mind was torn with doubt and reduced to a state of the greatest perplexity. We learn this from the following remarkable letter written in her own hand to Cecil. This Minister, her director in every difficulty, was then confined to his chamber by sickness, and the Queen, snatching a sheet of paper, wrote to him these few lines in latin. "In ejusmodi laberintho posita sum de responso meo reddendo R. (reginæ) Scotiæ, ut nescio quomodo illi satisfaciam, quum neque toto isto tempore, illi ullum responsum dederim, nec quid

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Office, Randolph to Cecil, 24th Oct. 1564. A long, minute, and most interesting letter, of which Keith, p. 259, had only seen a brief abstract in the Cotton Collection.

mihi dicendum nunc sciam. Invenias igitur aliquid boni quod in mandatis scriptis Randoll dare possem, et in hac causa tuam opinionem mihi indica."[1] This secret confession of the English Queen is of much value in determining the truth. There is, we see, no accusation of the policy of Mary, or her Ministers, Murray and Lethington. Their open dealing upon the two great points of the marriage and the succession, is virtually admitted. She complains, that it had at last reduced her to a dilemma in which she knew not what to do or what to say, and throws upon Cecil the burden of finding, or inventing some plausible apology which she may transmit by Randolph, then about to leave the English Court for Scotland.

In the mean time the Scottish Queen despatched Sir James Melvil, whom she had lately re-called from France, on a mission to Elizabeth. Melvil was an accomplished gentleman who had been educated in the Household of the Constable Montmorency, he was personally acquainted with most of the leading men in France and Germany, and being a Protestant, Mary believed he would be acceptable to her sister, and might do much to remove any unpleasant feelings

[1] 'I am involved in such a labyrinth, regarding the reply to the letter of the Queen of Scots, that I know not how I can satisfy her, having delayed all this time sending her any answer and now really being at a total loss what I must say. Find me out some good excuse, which I may plead in the despatches, to be given to Randolph, and let me know your opinion in this matter.'" MS. St. P. Office, entirely in the Queen's hand writing, and thus backed by Cecil, "23rd Sep., 1564. At St. James's the Queen writing to me being sick."

which the late embarrassment regarding Lennox had occasioned between them. He was instructed to insinuate himself as much as possible into the confidence of the English Queen, to mingle merry discourses with business, and gain her familiar ear—to discover, if possible, her real intention and wishes on the subject of the marriage, and to keep a strict and jealous eye upon any measures which might be contemplated, regarding Mary's right of succession to the English Crown.[1] On both points, he conducted the negotiation with success, and the account of it which he has left in his memoirs, presents us with the best portrait of Elizabeth, "as a woman" that has ever been given. The English Queen was much pleased with his lively and elegant manners, with his fund of court anecdotes, and the tone of gallantry and devotion with which he addressed her. She frequently sent for him three times a day, questioned him upon the beauty of his royal mistress, as compared with her own, insisted on knowing which of them he found fairest, which the best shaped, and whether he liked her most when habited in the English, French, or Italian costume. On one occasion, taking him into her bed chamber, and opening an escritoire, she showed him some small miniatures, wrapped up in paper, upon which the Queen had written their names in her own hand. Taking one from among these, she kissed it and held it to Melvil. It was the picture of his royal mistress, and the gallant envoy

[1] Melvil's Memoirs, Bann. Edin. pp. 112, 114, inclusive.

snatching Elizabeth's hand, who was not displeased with the familiarity, kissed it "for the love he saw she bore his Queen." His eye then caught another on which was written "My Lord's Picture;" Elizabeth would have put it aside; it had been a present from her favourite Leicester; but Melvil earnestly begged a sight, she put it into his hand, and he then playfully said, he would carry it to his own Queen in Scotland. "Nay, I have but that one," said she, "True," he replied, "but your Majesty possesses the principal," glancing his eye towards the Earl, who stood talking to Secretary Cecil at the farther end of the Chamber.[1] During Melvil's stay at the English Court, the Lord Robert Dudley, whom Elizabeth had proposed as a husband for Mary, was created Earl of Leicester with great solemnity; and at the inauguration, Lord Darnley, Lennox's eldest son, bore the sword, as nearest Prince of the blood. The ceremony took place at Westminster, "herself," says Melvil, "helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting on his knees before her, keeping a great gravity and discreet behaviour, but she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck to kittle (tickle) him, smilingly —the French Ambassador and I standing beside her. Then" he continues, "she asked me how I liked him," I said, as he was a worthy subject, he was happy in having encountered a Princess that could discern and reward good service. "Yet; "she said, "ye like

[1] Melvil's Memoirs, Bann. Edin. p. 122.

better yonder long lad," pointing to Lord Darnley, who, as nearest Prince of the blood, bore the sword of honour that day before her. My answer again was, " that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, who was more like a woman than a man, for he was very lusty, beardless and lady-faced." In this last sarcasm on Darnley's feminine appearance, the Ambassador had an end in view. Mary had given him a secret commission to deal with Lady Lennox, that her son should pass into Scotland to see the country and visit his father, and he was anxious that Elizabeth should have no suspicion of any such overture on the part of the Scottish Queen.[1] During the nine days that he remained at the English Court, Melvil continued to be treated with much confidence and familiarity. Elizabeth assured him that the subject of Mary's right to the succession of the Crown of England, should be treated of in an approaching meeting of Commissioners from both countries, and declared her anxiety to declare her the second person in the realm, provided she listened to her advice on the subject of her marriage. She added, " that it was her own resolution at this moment to remain till her death a virgin Queen, and that nothing would compel her to change her mind, except the undutiful behaviour of the Queen, her sister." Melvil smiled incredulously, and shook his head, observing, " that he knew she would never marry, because let Mary do what she would, the

[1] Melvil's Memoirs, Bann. Ed. p. 120.

Queen of England had 'too stately a stomach' to suffer a commander;" adding, "you think if you were married, you would be only Queen of England, and now ye are King and Queen both."[1] She earnestly wished she could see Mary. "Why should not your Highness," said the Ambassador, "disguise yourself as a page, and let me carry you secretly into Scotland; it would occupy but a few days, and for the time, it might be given out in the palace that you were sick, and kept your chamber." "Alas," said the Queen, much pleased with the romantic proposal, "would that it could be done." When some time after this he begged to have his answer, that he might return home, she upbraided him with being sooner tired of her company than she was of his, and laid a little plot, by which he might be witness to her musical skill, and yet save her vanity from the appearance of a studied exhibition. Lord Hunsdon after dinner drew him aside to a quiet gallery, where he might hear some music, laying his finger on his mouth, and whispering that Elizabeth was playing on the virginals. The corridor was separated from the royal chamber only by a curtain, behind which Melvil listened for a while, then drawing it softly aside, and perceiving that her Majesty's back was towards him, he slipt into the chamber, and heard her execute a piece admirably well. The Queen, however, suddenly turned round, and running forward, as if ashamed, threatened to strike him with her

[1] Melvil's Memoirs, p. 122.

left hand. "She was not used," she said, "to play before men," and asked him, "how he came there." The Ambassador did not find it difficult to appease the royal anger. "He was walking in the gallery," he said, "with Lord Hunsdon, when his ear was ravished with her melody, which drew him into the chamber he could scarcely tell how; he implored her pardon, but he had been brought up in a foreign court, where the manners were less grave than in England and was ready to bear any punishment her Highness chose to inflict." Elizabeth was much pleased, she sat down on a cushion, and when Melvil knelt beside her, asked him, whether she or Mary played best. He gave her the delight of hearing, that in music she excelled Mary, and she declared she would not let him away till he had seen her dance.[1]

On his return to Scotland the Ambassador informed his mistress of Elizabeth's strong protestations of friendship and attachment, but being pressed by the Scottish Queen to give his opinion of her sincerity, declared his conviction that she had little upright meaning; on the contrary, he had detected, he said, much dissimulation and jealousy, she had already hindered her marriage with the Archduke Charles, and she now offered Leicester, who was the last man she would part with.[2] In the meantime Randolph, who for a considerable period had been resident at the English Court was despatched into Scotland with instructions to renew the proposals

[1] Melvil's Memoirs, p. 125. [2] Ibid. p. 129.

regarding Leicester, but his promises were so vague, and his answers when pressed by Murray and Lethington, so obscure, evasive, and dilatory, that these Ministers could arrive at no definite conclusion,[1] and dreaded to commit themselves. A secret meeting was held between them, and the Earl of Bedford, at Berwick, but it led to no more satisfactory result.[2] Repeated conferences then took place with Randolph. This crafty and discerning envoy assured Cecil and his royal mistress, that although Mary was worn out with delays, pressed by foreign suitors, and agitated by idle and malicious rumours arising from her remaining unmarried, still she continued to be animated by the same friendly feelings towards Elizabeth, she spoke of her with affection and respect, and seemed inclined to think her sincere regarding the marriage with Dudley.[3] Her ministers assured him, that if his royal mistress would perform their sole and simple request if she would procure it to be declared by Act of Parliament, that Mary was next to herself in succession to the English Crown, they would undertake to overthrow all foreign practices for her marriage, and accomplish the union with Leicester.[4] That nobleman had in the meantime

[1] MS. Instructions, St. P. Off. Draft by Cecil, 7th Oct. 1564. Also MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Lethington to Cecil, 4th Nov. 1564.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 12th. Nov. 1564.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 2d. Dec. 1564. Randolph to Cecil.

[4] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 3d. Dec. 1564, Murray and Lethington to Cecil. Also, Ibid. 24th Dec. 1564. Murray and Lethington to Cecil.

written such humble and flattering letters to Mary, that she was much prepossessed in his favour; she showed herself averse to the foreign offers made to her through her uncle, the Cardinal, and, judging impartially from the whole tenor of the negotiations, there seems little doubt that the Scottish Queen, upon the conditions mentioned, would have agreed to marry Leicester.

On the 14th Dec. Randolph again wrote to Cecil; he referred to the letter lately addressed to this minister by Maitland and Murray, and he then observed, "The stay now standeth either in the Queen's Majesty to have all this performed, or in his Lordship's self, (Leicester) that hath the matter so well framed to his hand, that much more, I believe, there need not be than his own consent with that which may be for the Queen's Majesty's honour to do for him. It abideth now no longer deliberation. You have the offer, you have the choice. * * * It is now looked for, that to the letter written to your honour there come a full and resolute answer." He proceeds to enumerate the causes which move them thus earnestly to solicit an end. "Age," says he, "time, necessity of her state, compel her to marry; her people, her friends, press her thereunto. The offers made are such, as not without good cause they can be refused, though some inconveniences may arise sooner, in matching with one than with another; practices there are divers in hand." Alluding to the two great suitors, Leicester and Darnley, of whose intended journey into Scotland many whis-

pers now ran in the country, he observes, "That which in this case is not a little to be considered, is, that I have inquired of themselves, and find it true by others, that there is no man for whom, hitherto, any suit hath been made to match with this Queen, that shall be more grateful or more acceptable to the people, than shall be my Lord Robert. There hath been more thought of my Lord Darnley before his father's coming, than is at this present * * *. The father is now here well known; the mother more feared a great deal than beloved of any that knoweth her. To any other than yourself, if I should write in this sort, my wit would greatly fail me.[1] * * * These urgent requests of Randolph produced little effect. Cecil, completely under the control of his mistress, did not venture to move a step without her warrant, and as he found it impossible to induce her to make any special offer, or to consent to the demands of Mary's ministers, he was compelled to involve his answers in passages of such interminable

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 14th Dec. 1564. He adds this sentence, which mentions a fact I have not elsewhere seen noticed, the influence which Lady Lennox had over the mind of Mary Queen of England. "To think that Lord Darnley should marry this Queen, and his mother to bear that stroke (have that influence) with her, that she bore with Queen Mary (which she is like to do, as you can conjecture the causes why), would alienate as many minds from the Queen's Majesty, my Sovereign, by sending home as great a plague into this country as that which, to her Majesty's great honour and perpetual love of the faithful and godly, she drove out of the same when the French were forced to retire themselves."

length and obscure meaning, that to use Randolph's phrase, "Lethington and Murray were worked up to great agonies and passions.[1] Nor was it wonderful it should be so. They had engaged in a perilous negotiation, on their sole responsibility; the Queen, their mistress, had entrusted them, indeed, with a general commission, but they had gone far beyond their instructions, and had expressed themselves in such terms as if once discovered, must have brought them into immediate suspicion." In writing to Cecil they allude to *his* situation, as contrasted with *their own*, in the following remarkable passages:" "We immediately resolved to answer you without any drift of time, being more easy for us, for one respect, so to do, than it was for you to answer our former letter; forasmuch as *we* have none with whom we either dare or will communicate any thing passed between us, and *you* were compelled to make your Sovereign privy to our letter, before you might answer it. Truth it is, that in another point *you* have more advantage, in that you have a sufficient warrant for what you write, and so work surely, writing nothing but that your mistress both knoweth and doth allow; and we, without any commandment or warrant, write such things as, being brought to light, were sufficient matter to overthrow our credit at our Sovereign's hand, and put all we have in danger. Although our conscience doth not accuse

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 9th Jan. 1564-5, Randolph to Cecil.

us that we intend any prejudice to her Majesty, yet in Princes' affairs, matters be as they list to take them, and it will not be allowed for a good reason when they call their ministers to account, to say we meant well." "In your letter," they observe, "you have well provided that we shall find no lack for shortness thereof, yet to speak squarely our opinion, we think you could in fewer lines have comprehended matter more to our contentation; and better for furtherance of the purpose intended, if you had a sufficient warrant, and therewithal a mind to fall roundly to work with us. * * * When we came to those words that seeing us mean to fall roundly to work, you will go also roundly to work with us, and proceed plainly, we looked for a plain resolution—but having read over that which followed, you must bear with us, if we find ourselves nothing satisfied * * * for in that same plain speech, there be many obscure words and dark sentences, and (pardon us that we say so) in a manner, as many words as there be, as many ambiguities do result thereof.[1]"

In the midst of these protracted negotiations, a Parliament was held at Edinburgh, in which Mary fulfilled her promise to the Earl of Lennox. His forfeiture was reversed, his estates and honours restored, whilst the Queen, to give the greater solemnity to this act of favour, came herself to the House, and

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Murray and Lethington to Cecil, 24th Dec. 1564.

in a short address informed the Estates, that one of the chief causes which moved her to replace this Baron in his former power and station, was the earnest suit of the Queen, her good sister of England.[1] At the same time the Act against the mass was confirmed in all its severity. To be present at its celebration was made punishable by the loss of lands, goods, and even life, if the Prince should think fit; nor were any exempted from the full penalties of the Statute, except the Queen and her household. This confirmation of a severe and unjust law might at least have convinced the more rigid Protestants that Mary remained true to the promise she had made on her first arrival, whilst her continued favour to Murray, and the Parliamentary sanction given to the late grant of his new Earldom, manifested the sincerity of her dealing towards him to whom she committed the chief management of her affairs.

Shortly after this, the great affair of the marriage with Leicester seemed, from what cause is not easily discoverable, to assume a more decided form. Lethington thanked Cecil for a friendly and gentle letter, and rejoiced in the hopes it led him to entertain of the ultimate success of that good work which he had begun.[2] Mary also, who had retired for some

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 15th Dec. 1564. His restoration was proclaimed with great solemnity by five Heralds, at the cross, which was hung with tapestry, and surrounded by the Lords sitting on horseback.—Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 111.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 1st. Feb. 1564-5. Lethington to Cecil.

time to St. Andrew's, to throw off the cares of state, and the restraints and formalities of her Court, received Randolph with expressions of unfeigned friendship and openness, declaring her determination, if Elizabeth agreed to the offer made by her ministers to abide by her wishes, and to be guided by her instructions in all things. At first, indeed, she playfully refused to listen to any introduction of grave and weighty matters; it was, she said, her holiday time; she had thrown aside her pomp, and lived with a small train in a merchant's house at St. Andrew's, intent on nothing but to be quiet and happy. Randolph, however, was not to be thus put aside. He dined and supped with her every day, and at last ventured to speak of business. "I had no sooner spoken the word," says he, "but the Queen said," "I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment. I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a bourgeois wife I live, with my little troop, and you will interrupt our pastimes with your great and grave matters. I pray you, Sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassade until the Queen cometh thither, for I assure you, you shall not get her here; nor I know not myself where she is become. You see neither cloth of Estate, nor such appearance, that you should think I am she at St. Andrew's that I was at Edinburgh." "I said," (continues Randolph) "that I was very sorry, for that at Edinburgh she said, that she did love my mistress, the Queen's Majesty, better than any other, and now I marvelled

how her mind was altered." Mary upon this became merry, and "called him by more names than were given him in his christendom." * * * "Well, Sir," said she, "that which then I spoke in words shall be confirmed to my good sister, your mistress, in writing. Before you go out of this town you shall have a letter for her: and for yourself go where you will, I care no more for you."[1] The next day he was commanded to be at the Queen's table, and placed the next person (saving worthy Beton) to Mary herself. After dinner she rode abroad, and it pleased her most part of the time to talk with him. As the Queen's conversation at this ride was important, it is perhaps best to give it in her own words, as they were instantly afterwards reported to Cecil by Randolph himself. "She had occasion," says the Ambassador "to speak much of France for the honour she received there to be the wife unto a great King, and for the friendship showed unto her in particular by many, for which occasions she was bound to love the nation, to show them pleasure, and do them good. Her acquaintance," she said, "was not so forgotten there, nor her friendship so little esteemed, but yet, it was divers ways sought to be continued. She hath of her people many well affected that way, for the nurture they have had there, and the commodity of service, as those of the guard and men-at-arms; besides, great privileges for

[1] Randolph to Cecil, 5th Feb. 1564-5. Printed by Chalmers. Life of Mary, vol. i, p. 123. 4to. Edit.

the merchants, more than ever were granted to any nation. What privately hath been sought, (she continued, turning the discourse to her marriage) for a long time, and yet is sought (namely) that I should yield myself unto their desires in my marriage, your mistress cannot be ignorant of it, and you have heard. To leave such friends, and to lose such offers, without assurance of as good, nobody will give me advice that loveth me. Not to marry, you know, it cannot be for me. To defer it long, many incommodities ensue; how privy to my mind your mistress hath been herein, you know. How willing I am to follow her advice I have shown many times, and yet I can find in her no resolution or determination. For nothing, I cannot be bound unto her;[1] and I have of late given assurance to my brother of Murray, and Lethington, that I am loath to frame my will against hers, and so do now show unto yourself, which I wish you to bear in mind, and to let it be known unto my sister, your mistress. And, therefore, this I say, and trust me, I mean it: if your mistress will, (as she hath said) use me as her natural born sister or daughter, I will take (consider) myself either the one or the other, as she please, and will show no less readiness to obey her, and honour her, than my mother or eldest sister; but if she will repute me always as her neighbour the Queen of Scots, how willing soever I be to live in amity, and to maintain peace, yet

[1] She means, I cannot be required to bind myself to Elizabeth, and get nothing in return.

must she not look for that at my hands, that otherwise I would, or she desireth.[1] To forsake friendship offered, and present commodity (advantage) for uncertainty, no friend will advise me; nor if I did, would your mistress' self approve my wisdom. Let her therefore measure my case as her own, and so will I be hers. For these causes, until my sister and I have further proceeded, I must apply my mind to the advice of those that seem to tender most my profit, that show their care over me, and wish me most good."

"I have disclosed to you," said she, "all my mind, and require you to let it be known to your Sovereign. My meaning unto her is plain, and so shall my dealing be. I know how well she is worthy, and so do esteem her, and therefore, I will say thus much more, that as there is none nearer of kin unto her than I am, nor none more worthy to whom I may submit myself, so is there none to whom with better will I desire to be beholden unto than unto her, or to do any thing that may be with my honour."

In the midst of this discourse, Mary stopt suddenly, protesting "that she had been drawn on to talk on a subject upon which she had hitherto kept to him a profound silence." Randolph admitted it to be so, but said, he knew her mind from her ministers. "I charged them," rejoined the Queen, "to consider what was best for me, and I find them

[1] That is to say, that she desires, and in other circumstances I would willingly give.

bent towards you, and yet I believe, they will advise the best; but your mistress may use me (so) that I will leave their advices, and follow hers alone." The Ambassador earnestly trusted it might be so. "Remember then, what I have said," continued the Scottish Queen. "This mind cometh not upon the sudden; it is more than a day or two that I have had this thought, and more than this too, that you shall not know." "I desired her Grace, (proceeds Randolph) not to cut off her talk there, it was so good—so wise—so well framed, and so comfortable unto me, as nothing could be more, to hear that mind in her towards your Majesty."

"I am a fool," said Mary, "thus long to talk with, you; you are too subtle for me to deal with." "Randolph protested upon his honesty, that his meaning was only to nourish a perpetual amity between his mistress and her, and that this could only be done by honest means. "How much better were it," said she, "that we two being Queens, so near of kin, neighbours, and living in one isle, should be friends, and live together, like sisters, than by strange means divide ourselves to the hurt of us both. And to say that we may, for all that, live friends,[1] we may say, and promise what we will, but it will pass both our powers. You repute us (Scots) poor, but yet you find us cumbersome enough. We have had loss—ye have taken skaith.[2] Why may it not be so be-

[1] That is to say, that nothing hinders us to live in friendship, continuing as we are now is vain. We may promise what we will, but we cannot perform it.

[2] Hurt.

tween my sister and me, that we living, in peace and assured friendship, may give our minds, that some as notable things may be wrought by us women, as by our predecessors have been before. Let us seek this honour against some other (rather) than fall at debate among ourselves." "I asked her Grace here," says Randolph, "whether she would be content one day, whenever it were, to give her assistance for the recovery of Calais." At this question Mary laughed; and said, "many things must pass between my good sister and me, before I can give you answer; but I believe to see the day that all our quarrels shall be one, and assure you, if we be not, the fault shall not be in me." Randolph, encouraged by her frankness, pressed her to say "how she liked the suit of my Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester, that he might write her opinion of him to Elizabeth." "My mind, towards him," replied Mary, "is such as it ought to be of a very nobleman, as I hear say by many, and such a one as the Queen, your mistress, my good sister, does so well like to be *her* husband, if he were not her subject, ought not to mislike me to be *mine*. Marry! what I shall do, lieth in your mistress' will, who shall wholly guide me and rule me."[1]

Ten days after this letter was written, Henry Lord Darnley, having obtained the permission of Elizabeth, and with strong letters in his favour from Leicester

[1] Chalmer's Life of Mary, vol. i. p. 123, from the original in the St. P. Off. Randolph to Elizabeth, 5th Feb. 1564-5.

and Sir William Cecil, repaired to Scotland. His avowed errand was to visit his father, and assist him in some private affairs which required the personal presence of the heir of his house;[1] but there is no doubt that other and deeper schemes hung upon this journey. The Countess of Lennox, his mother, an ambitious and intriguing woman, looked forward to his ingratiating himself with Mary; and Elizabeth, who dreaded lest her simulated offer of Leicester should involve her in difficulties, and compel her to part with her favourite, was nowise averse to make the Scottish Queen acquainted with this young Prince, who, next to herself, was the nearest heir to the English throne. He was received with much distinction by the Earl of Bedford, and having passed a night at Ledington, the seat of Secretary Maitland, arrived at Edinburgh (12th Feb., 1564-5).[2] Having learnt that the Queen was absent in Fife, he passed over the Firth, and was introduced to Mary at the castle of the Wemyss, where during a short progress she then resided. His reception was flattering; and his manners and address created a prepossession in his favour, not only amongst the Scottish courtiers, but in the more severe and sarcastic mind of Randolph, the English ambassador. As he was aware that his sudden appearance in Scotland must draw the eyes of many upon him, it was his object to

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lennox to Cecil. 10th March, 1564-5.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 12th Feb., 1564-5.

conciliate all parties. It was suspected that both his father and himself were Papists; but the young Lord put himself under the guidance of Murray, and went to hear Knox preach. After the sermon they returned to the palace; he was introduced to the beauties of the Court, and in the evening, at the suggestion of Murray, Darnley danced a galliard with the Queen.[1]

But although whispers began to circulate regarding the motives which had brought him to Scotland, there can be no doubt that Mary and her Ministers were still intent upon the matrimonial negotiation with England. At this moment she treated with great coldness the overtures of her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who proposed to procure a Papal dispensation for her marriage with the King of France.[2] It was even surmised that she was becoming more open to conviction on the subject of religion; and Randolph playfully accused her of beginning to savour of the Huguenots, requesting her to take counsel of his Sovereign. "This must be," said Mary, when I come to England;" alluding to their long-intended interview. The ambassador asked when that would be. "Whenever your mistress wishes it," was the answer; "and as to marriage, my husband must be such a one as she will give me." He alluded to

[1] "His courteous dealing with all men deserveth great praise, and is well spoken of.—MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Leicester, 19th February, 1564-5. Also, MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 27th February, 1564-5, Randolph to Cecil.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 4th March, 1564-5.

Leicester. "Of that matter," she replied, "I will say no more till I see greater likelihood; but no creature living shall make me break more of my will than my good sister, if she will use me as a sister; if not, I must do as I may."[1]

Whilst Mary was thus open and candid with the English ambassador, Murray, in still more urgent terms, implored him to bring matters to a conclusion, and persuade his royal mistress to acknowledge Mary's title, and expedite the marriage with Leicester. If this took place, he was content, he said, to lose (as he must do) much of his power and honour, for the satisfaction of having discharged his duty; but if he failed in this, it was almost certain ruin. The Queen would dislike and suspect him, because he had deceived her with promises which he could not realize; he was the counsellor and deviser of that line of policy which, for the last five years, had been pursued towards England; he it was, that had induced her to defer to Elizabeth, to desert her ancient friends, to renounce every foreign offer. "If," said he, "she marry any other than Leicester, what mind will the new king bear me, that knoweth I have so strongly opposed his advancement. If he be a Papist, either we must obey, or fall into new misery and difficulty, whilst I shall be regarded as the ringleader of the discontented. But what need to say more of this, you have often heard me say as much before; and

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 4th March, 1564-5, Randolph to Cecil.

yet we see nothing but drift of time, delays from day to day, to do all for nothing and to get nothing for all."[1] In the same spirit, Lethington besought Cecil to act with more stoutness and courage, and bring the matter to a conclusion. Elizabeth had described the Scottish Ministers, as transforming the negotiation too much into a matter of bargain; "they looked," she said, "for her death, and hunted after a kingdom;" whilst she jocularly told Melvil, that Maitland, in his constant allusions to the succession, was, like a death-watch, ever ringing her knell in her ears. The Secretary ably repelled this unworthy notion. "In good faith," said he, "that is not my mistress's meaning. Rather doth she seek, and we also, a probable reason to lay against the objections which shall be made in foreign nations contrary to this match; that they may see it is no vain or light conceit hath moved her to yield to the Queen of England's request in her marriage. * * The matter itself hath not so many difficulties, but you may soon remove them all if you list."[2] In a later letter, he eloquently alludes to the honour which would redound to Cecil and himself, if their measures to promote the union of the two kingdoms by this marriage were at last successful. Such a stroke of policy, he remarked, would secure for them a more

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 4th March, 1564-5, Randolph to Cecil. This conversation with Randolph took place at a dinner at the Earl of Murray's, where none were present but the Countess his wife, and Pitarrow, the comptroller.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Christmas Day, 1564.

glorious memory, a more unfading gratitude in the ages to come, than belonged to those "who did most valiantly serve King Edward the First in his conquest, or King Robert, the Bruce, in his recovery of the country."[1]

These fond anticipations of present felicity and posthumous honour were not destined to be realized. It became at last necessary for Elizabeth to come to a decision; and Randolph was instructed to impart to the Scottish Queen her final resolution. It amounted to a peremptory and mortifying denial of every proposal of her Ministers. She refused to recognise Mary's title, or to adopt any measures regarding her right of succession, till she had made up her own mind whether she should marry or not.[2] If Mary chose to accept Leicester as a simple Earl, and trust to the after munificence of the English Queen, she would not have any reason to repent her confidence; but this was the same vague and delusive expectation so long held out, which seemed to promise all, and actually meant nothing. The message of Elizabeth, in short, at once put an end to all negotiation. When Randolph communicated her letter to the Scottish Queen, it was evident to him that she was deeply moved, and he heard afterwards that their interview had been followed by a passionate fit of weeping.[3] Lethington at once declared, that after

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 1st February, 1564-5, Lethington to Cecil.

[2] Keith, p. 270.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 17th March, 1564-5.

such a communication, no one could honestly advise Mary to delay; and Murray, who seemed deeply disappointed, prognosticated a speedy dissolution of all friendship between the two Queens. His knowledge of the character of his royal mistress led him to this conclusion. It was Mary's weakness to be hurried away by the predominating influence of some one feeling and object. Warm, generous, and confiding, but, at the same time, ambitious and tenacious of her rights, it had been her favourite and engrossing object for the last four years, to prevail upon Elizabeth to recognise her title to the English throne. With this view she had given credit to her professions, borne every delay with patience, checked the advances of foreign suitors, treated her nearest relatives with coldness, and promoted to the highest offices of wealth and power, those of her nobles who were most attached to England. Everything had been sacrificed to an imprudent dependence upon the promises of Elizabeth. Almost to the very last she hoped against hope, and showed an affection which, to the piercing and suspicious eyes of Randolph, was sincere and unequalled.[1] Are we to wonder, that when she suddenly was awakened to the duplicity with which she had been treated; when, in a moment, the mask of pretended amity and affection, so long worn by the English Queen, fell to the ground, and the features of fraud, falsehood, and selfishness, came out in all their deformity, Mary

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 13th March, 1564-5, Randolph to Cecil.

recoiled with mortification and disgust. Her confidence had been abused; she was the dupe of successful artifice; she might soon be the victim of intrigues of which she knew not the ramifications and extent. Can we be surprised, that, under this state of mind, the re-action was immediate and violent. She had long submitted her opinion to others; she now determined to choose for herself. The influence of her uncles and of the Court of Rome had been for years on the wane; she was not indisposed now to see it revived. The Protestant nobility and the reformed clergy had been treated ever since her arrival in her dominions with high favour, and the great body of her subjects who adhered to the ancient faith, were kept under and neglected; it was right now that the balance should be held with a more equal hand between them. Murray had been chosen by her as her chief minister and adviser since she left France; to him she had committed almost regal powers; she had pardoned his rebellion, had accumulated upon him estates and honours, and placed him at the very head of her nobles; she had committed herself to his guidance, it was by his advice she had shaped her policy towards England, it was the road marked out for her by him and Lethington that had led her on to mortification, insult, and defeat. Was it possible that she could continue to those two men the confidence with which she had formerly regarded them? was it unnatural that, when she discovered their entire devotedness to Elizabeth, she should begin to consider them as

merely instruments in her hands, and regard them with suspicion and resentment? Yet, although these feelings must at this moment have influenced her secret resolutions, it was the unhappiness of Mary to be surrounded by those whom she could not trust, or to whom she dared not give power. Had she selected as her counsellors any of the wisest amongst the Romish clergy, the measure would have been probably met by an instantaneous rising of the people and the reformed preachers; whilst her nobility, alike Romish and Protestant, had successively shown themselves venal, selfish, and treacherous. She was compelled, therefore, to temporise and conciliate; and when we consider the fearful elements by which she was surrounded—craft, cruelty, fanaticism, in their worst shapes,—all the fierce and uncontrollable passions which marked a feudal age, and much of the refined vices which her subjects had imported in a lengthened and constant intercourse with France and the continent, it is difficult to withhold our pity from this still youthful Queen, placed without advisers in a situation of such peril and responsibility.

It was necessary, however, to come to a determination. Mary had resolved already on a speedy marriage, and her mind naturally turned to Darnley. His descent was royal, his grandmother being the sister of Henry the Eighth, and his mother cousin-german to Queen Elizabeth. At the installation of Lord Robert Dudley, as Earl of Leicester, the reader may remember that Sir James Melvil saw Darnley, as first prince of the blood, bear the sword

of state before the Queen.[1] His own title to the throne of England was second only to that of the Queen of Scotland; he bore the royal name, and by a marriage with him, she believed that she would secure to their children an undoubted and unchallengeable title to the English Crown. He was now in his twenty-first year;[2] his conduct since his arrival in Scotland, if we may believe Randolph (a witness whose feelings against him gives weight to his praise), had been prudent and popular.[3] He had come to the Scottish Court not only with the full approbation, but with the warm recommendation of Elizabeth;[4] and this queen had repeatedly assured Mary, that although she decidedly opposed her marriage toa foreign prince, she might choose any of her English nobility, and be certain of her approbation. When, therefore, she selected Darnley, the Scottish Queen had reason to expect the approval of Elizabeth, and, if we except Knox and his party, the concurrence and support of all classes in the state. Nor, although Lennox and his son were both suspected of being Papists, could Mary augur that the English Queen would be much dissatisfied on that account. At this very moment, a negotiation was suspected to be carrying on for a marriage between England and

[1] *Supra*, p. *353*.

[2] Keith, p. *269*.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 27th February, 1564-5

[4] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bedford to Cecil, 12th February, 1564-5.

France. Elizabeth, it was reported in the Scottish Court, was every day manifesting a greater favour for Popish ceremonies; she had determined to impose upon the English clergy a particular habit, copied from the Romish costume; she herself had been seen to wear a rosary and a crucifix, and Bonner had affirmed with impunity, that there was not one real Bishop in England.[1] All this held out encouragement to Mary: it was soon manifest that her choice was fixed on Darnley, and in a dangerous and infectious illness which seized him about this time, she attended him in person with the utmost care, earnestness, and affection, sitting up with him till midnight, watching his convalescence, and showing delight at his recovery.[2] In a sister to a favourite brother, such devotedness would have been commendable; in a Queen to her subject, and still more in an affianced mistress to her future husband, it was undignified and indecorous, and gave a handle to the injurious constructions of her enemies. But it was the misfortune of her ardent disposition that she was always under the domination of some strong and engrossing feeling, which sometimes led her to disregard appearances, and to believe she could never sacrifice enough for the object of her approval; nor did she think of the miserable effects of such flattery and attention upon the youth who was exposed to it. To

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 30th March, 1565, Randolph to Cecil.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Bedford to Cecil, 23d April, 1565.

be thus cherished by a Queen—and the most beautiful woman in Europe—by her, for whose hand so many Kings and Princes had sued; to have love, honour, and power, soliciting his acceptance; to be raised from a subject to supreme command, and to find a crown dropping on his head, would have been trying to the best balanced and the firmest mind: are we to wonder that, on the weak and unstable disposition of Darnley, it operated with fatal and almost instantaneous effect? He became proud and overbearing; and treating the ancient nobility with neglect, attached himself principally to Riccio, the Queen's secretary for her French correspondence; an Italian, who being first introduced into the royal household as a musician, had been promoted to this office, in consequence of the disgrace of Raulet, her former French secretary.[1] He began also to show symptoms of a passionate and unmanageable temper, talked with great imprudence of the strong party he had in England;[2] declared openly that Murray's power was exorbitant and dangerous, and made himself in a short time so many enemies, that it was whispered, he must soon either change his conduct, or lose his life.[3] Nor were the consequences of this extraordinary favour shown to Lennox and his son less

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, March 4th, 1564-5. Ibid. same to the same, 15th Jan. 1564-5.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 21st May, 1565. Randolph to Cecil. Also Ibid, MS. Letter, same to same, 3d May, 1565.

[3] Randolph to Cecil, 20th March, 1564-5. printed in Keith, p. 274. Also MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 3d June, 1565.

injurious in other quarters. Those who knew best the disposition of the Queen began to dread that these nobles would wrest from her the whole power in the state, and that she would herself become nothing but a passive instrument in effecting their purposes of ambition and aggrandizement. The Duke, under whose regency Lennox had been banished and forfeited, anticipated the total ruin of his house—the party of the Protestants, led by Knox and the preachers, cried out "that they were undone." Murray, with the design of strengthening his faction, but under colour of his aversion to the Popish ceremonies, retired from court, and Randolph reported, that the people were universally discontented,[1] whilst he hinted, that if Elizabeth felt herself disposed to raise factions in Scotland, and embroil that country, there never was a fitter time to carry her wishes into execution.[2] Even this was not all: Many brought an accusation against Elizabeth, from which her Minister found it difficult to defend her. It was affirmed, that she had herself sent Darnley into Scotland, with a purpose to bring about the very events which had occurred; that her object was to hinder any potent foreign alliance; to match the Queen meanly, and to interrupt the friendly intercourse between the two kingdoms.[3]

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil 17th March, 1564-5. Also, same to same. MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 18th April, 1565. Also, MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 28th April, 1565. Bedford to Cecil.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 15th April, 1565.

[3] MS. Letter St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 18th April, 1565.

In the midst of these unpleasant rumours and surmises, Mary despatched Lethington to the English Court (14th April, 1565), with injunctions to communicate her resolution regarding Darnley, and to use all his influence to procure the approbation of the Queen. He arrived at Westminster on the 18th of April, and, as he had anticipated, found Elizabeth not only hostile to the projected alliance, but expressing herself with much bitterness against the Scottish Queen. She submitted the proposal to her Privy Council. (1st May, 1565) and after long deliberations, they declared themselves unanimously opposed to it, pronouncing the measure "prejudicial to both the Queens, and consequently dangerous to the weal of both countries.[1] What these dangers were, the councillors did not think proper to describe, nor do we learn from any contemporary letters that Lethington exerted his ingenuity to dissipate this alarm.

In the meantime, during his absence, some important events were taking place in Scotland. Bothwell, the mortal enemy of Murray, returned suddenly from France, but the suspicions of treason, under which he lay, and the reports which had reached the Queen's ears, of his abandoned and profligate character, induced her to treat him with the utmost severity. The Earl of Murray, whose life he had repeatedly threatened, demanded justice, and Mary summoned him to stand his trial for high treason in

[1] Keith, p. 270, 274, 275.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 24th March, 1564-5. Bedford to Cecil.

conspiring with the Earl of Arran three years before to seize the person of the Queen. These events were communicated by Randolph to Cecil, in this graphic and interesting letter, from which (although coloured with his own views and prejudices) we may understand something of the state of parties in Scotland. He first alludes to the expected trial of Bothwell. "Upon Tuesday, at night (the 1st of May) there came to this town my Lords of Murray and Argile, to keep the day of law against the Earl Bothwell, who appeared not, nor is it yet for certain known what is become of him, though the common report is, that he embarked at North Berwick. The company that came to this town in favour of my Lord of Murray, are esteemed five or six thousand, and for my part, I assure your honour, I never saw a greater assembly. More also had come, saving that they were stayed by the Queen, who hath showed herself now of late to mislike, that my Lord of Murray so earnestly pursueth him, (Bothwell) and will not give his advice to take the like advantage upon some others, whom she beareth small affection unto.

"In this matter thus far they have proceeded, upon Wednesday he was called, and for lack of appearance, was condemned in the sum; farther the Queen would not that the justice clerk should proceed, which hath bred so much misliking, and given occasion of such kind of talk against her Grace, for bearing with such men in her own cause,[1] that that which is already spoken passeth all measure."

[1] In an affair where the Crown was prosecutor. See the Summons of Treason.—Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 462.

This was an unfair representation of Randolph. The Queen instead of showing good will to Bothwell, was strongly prejudiced against him, and in consequence of his coarse and violent conduct, had recently, declared, he should never receive favor at her hands.[1] As to the accusation of a conspiracy, it may be remembered, that Arran when he made the disclosure, 31st March, 1562,[2] was mad, he then implicated not only Bothwell, but his own father, and had continued insane ever since. What evidence Murray had collected during the lapse of nearly three years, we cannot tell, but as this potent accuser came to attend the trial with an army of five thousand men, Bothwell justly considered that his life would be in danger if he appeared, and sent his kinsman, Hepburn, of Whitsum, to protest his innocence, and to declare his readiness to answer the charge when made quietly, without tumult or intimidation.[3]

The Ambassador proceeds to notice the obstinacy of the Queen, the discontent of her subjects, and the threatenings which began to circulate, "that if good advice was despised, remedy must be sought by sharper means." "This," he continues, "is not the voice of one or two, they are not the meanest that spake it, nor the unlikeliest to put it in execution, if that way they go to work. I write that but shortly, which in many words and by many men I have heard,* * * The speech of this marriage

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil. 30th March, 1564-5.

[2] Supra, p. 297.

[3] Pitcairn, vol. i. 464.

to any of them all, as divers ways I have attempted to know their mind, is so much contrary to their desires, that they think their nation dishonoured, the Queen shamed, and country undone.

"A greater plague to herself and them, there cannot be—a greater benefit to the Queen's Majesty could not have chanced, than to see this dishonour fall upon her, and to have her so matched, as it shall pass her power at any time to attain unto that which hitherto so earnestly she looked for * * *. She is now, to be short, almost in utter contempt of her people, and so far herself in doubt of them, that without some speedy redress, worse is to be feared. Many grievous and sore words have of late escaped her against the Duke. "Mortally she hateth my Lord of Argile, and so far suspecteth my Lord of Murray that, not many days since, she said, 'that she saw whereabout he went, and that he would set the Crown upon his own head.' How these men have need to look unto themselves, your honour doth perceive.

"To this point it is come, that my Lord of Murray, and Argile, will at no time be in the Court together, that if need be, the one may relieve or support the other. The Duke is content to live at home, and thinketh himself happy if he may die in his bed. The preachers look daily by some means or other to have their lives taken from them, or to be commanded to silence, as already she hath done one Mr. Thomas Drummond, a godly and learned young man, that preached at Dumblane.

"With my Lord of Argile, there came to this town the Lord David, the Duke's son, with most part of the Duke's friends. Assured bands and promises are made between the Duke and Lord of Murray, that nothing shall be attempted against each other, but it shall be defended to the uttermost of their powers. The Earl of Glencairn having been required by the Earl of Lennox to enter into the like band, hath refused it, and joined with the Duke. My Lord of Morton this time was absent, but so misliked, that I have not heard any man worse spoken of. He is now in hopes that my Lady's Grace (the Countess of Lennox) will give over her rights of Angus, and so (he) will become friend to that side. In this Lethington laboureth, not much to his own praise. The Lord Ruthven, Lethington's chief friend, is wholly theirs, and chief counsellor amongst them. Suspicions do rise on every side, in which I have my part, as of late, because I was at the west border, and am thought to practice with the master of Maxwell—I know not what myself. My Lord of Murray was willed not to have to do with me; and when he said, 'he could not chuse, but speak well of me'—'Well,' saith she (the Queen) 'if you will, let not Argile have to do with him'—for all that, I have supt twice with my Lord of Murray. My Lord of Argile took the pains to come to my lodging: he brought with him the Lord David. He hath been plain, and to be short, misliketh all * * *. The country is now so far broken, that there is daily slaughter without

redress, between the Scots and Elliots, stealing at all hands, and justice almost no where.

" Now, touching Mr. Fowler (the confidential servant of Lennox) he came, as I wrote upon Saturday at night, late. He communed long that night with the Queen and his Lordship, and brought her Grace a letter of five or six sheets of paper, all in cipher, from the Lord of Lethington. Thus much is known, that the Queen's Majesty hath an utter misliking of the matter: what else is contained in the same letter, few, I believe, will come by the knowledge. Part of it was shown to my Lord of Murray, the rest at his departure from her Grace was not deciphered. Fowler hath reported that the Queen's Majesty (Elizabeth) should say openly, that she had no liking of the matter, and that if it took effect, then the Duke should be put down within one month after, and the good Protestants driven out of the country, which she would not suffer. These words are now in many men's mouths, and many glad to hear it, and believe it the better because that he doth report it.

" Through this and somewhat else that I have spoken, many are now well satisfied of the Queen's Majesty that he was not sent hither for any such purpose, as now undoubtedly shall take effect. Whatsoever may be borne in hand, that it shall no farther than the Queen's Majesty's will is, and doth assent to, I know it already past that point. It may be said, that my Lord of Murray may be the doer, and the contriver thereof, which I know to be otherwise, for if that had been, he would not have refused

to have been present at the assurance and contract making. I know much more than this, but I trust this will suffice you for that part.

"What practices are in hand, or how long this matter hath been a brewing, I know not, but this I know hath been said by the father, that he is sure of the greatest part in England, and that the King of Spain will be his friend. If this be their fetch, your Honour knoweth what time it is to look about you. How little is to be feared from hence, and what her power is at this time, she standing in such terms as she doth, your Honour is not ignorant of.

"It is feared that her Majesty (Elizabeth) will over soon allow hereof, and over hastily accord unto this Queen's desire, at least, it is wished that there may be some open show of her Majesty's discontentment. Lethington is suspected to favour more that way, (I mean to my Lord Darnley) than he would seem; and yet, I assure you, he is scarcely trusted amongst them, (Lennox's party) and of late despiteful words have been spoken against him, upon certain words which he wrote to my Lord Murray, that he should persuade the Queen to make no haste in the matter, but keep it in the stay it was when he left it.

"The chief dealers in these matters, are David Riccio, the Italian, Mingo, valet de chambre, Athol and Ruthven, whom I should have named first.

"Thus your Honour seeth our present estate, and how things do frame amongst us. So much pride, such excess in vanities, so proud looks and despiteful words, and so poor a purse I never heard of.

My Lord of Lennox is now quite without money; he borrowed five hundred crowns of my Lord of Lethington, and hath scarcely enough now to pay for his horse meat; if he have no more from you, we shall see him presently put to his shifts. His men are bolder and saucier, both with the Queen's self and many noblemen, than ever I thought could have been borne, divers of them now resort to the mass, and glory in their doings. Such pride is noted in the father and the son, that there is almost no society or company amongst them. My young Lord lying sick in his bed, hath already boasted the Duke to knock his pate when he is whole.* * *

" I write these things with more sorrow and grief of mind than in any passion or affection to any part, (farther) than that I am desirous that the work wherein I have been a labourer, almost six years, with care, sorrow, and greater burden than I have been able to bear, which is to maintain a perfect amity between my native country and this, should not be overthrown and quite destroyed, nor that the good will which my mistress hath gotten through her deserts amongst this people, should here take an end when most desired, and most earnestly looked for. Before, she was their friend against foreign nations—now the danger is as great at home. Other refuge they have none—to none more willing to obey, and of her Majesty alone they desire support; counsel is now more worth than men or money.* *

" This day (Thursday, 3d May) the chief of the

Protestants that at this time are present with the Ministers, assembled in the church. Consultation was had what order might be put unto that confusion that had grown up, wherein every man might do and say what he would without reproof against God's glory and his word. Their deliberation contained three heads. First, how to remove idolatry out of the realm, containing in that as well the Queen's chapel as others. Next, that her own laws might be put in execution without offence. The third, that liberty might be granted without inhibition or reproof, to such as are admitted to preach the true word of God. Long reasoning hath been hereupon. It was determined that the request should be put in writing, and certain appointed as messengers for the rest. More hereof your Honour shall know hereafter." [1]

In perusing this letter, we must beware of giving implicit confidence to the representations of Randolph. The picture it conveys of universal discontent, and the symptoms of rising wrath and incipient rebellion which it describes, were coloured highly to suit the purposes of this crafty minister, and to favour the views of the English faction. The Duke, Murray, and Argile, with Knox, and all, or the greater portion of the Protestants, were, no doubt, violently opposed to the marriage, and had already adopted precautions, not only for their own defence, but had begun to repeat the same game which they had already played so successfully. They had solicited Ran-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 3d May, 1565.

dolph to procure for them the support and countenance of the English Queen, and had declared their readiness to rise in arms against their Sovereign. All this was true; but when this Minister asserted, that the union with Darnley was odious to the whole nation, when he represented the Queen as having fallen into universal contempt, and when he described the lives of the Protestant preachers as being in danger, from the measures adopted against them, he stated what was contradicted by subsequent events, and even disproved by his own letters. It was soon seen, that Mary, if she had some enemies, had also many powerful friends. Besides Lennox and his son now restored to their estates, and with their lands, to great feudal strength, she could reckon firmly on the support of the Earls of Athole and Caithness, the Lords Hume and Ruthven, with the Lord Robert, and all the ancient Barons and families who were still secretly attached to the Romish religion.[1] It was surmised, also, that Lethington, whose counsel and experience were of such value to any party which he cordially embraced, would be unwilling to declare openly against her; and the mind of the Queen herself, far from being overwhelmed by the difficulties which surrounded her, seemed to gain energy by the struggle, and led her to act with a promptitude, spirit, and vigor, for which her opponents were not prepared.

Before, however, she proceeded to more decisive

[1] Keith, p. 272.

measures, she resolved to make a last attempt to gain Murray, and obtain his consent to her marriage with Darnley. He was flattered and caressed, both by the Queen and the Earl of Lennox, but to little effect. Mary then seizing a moment when he was off his guard, and in Lord Darnley's chamber, took him aside and placed a paper in his hands, to which she required him to put his name. It contained an approval of her marriage, and an engagement to promote it with his whole power, and this she insisted he should consent to, as he would show himself her faithful subject, and avoid her displeasure. Murray firmly, but respectfully, declined. "Her resolution," he said, "was overhasty, and her demand upon him too sudden and peremptory. What would foreign princes think of such precipitation? What must be the opinion of the Queen of England, with whom her Ambassador was even then in treaty, and whose answer she daily expected? But most of all," he said, "he would be loath to consent to the marriage of any one, of whom there was so little hope that he would be a favourer of Christ's true religion, which was the thing most to be desired; of one who hitherto had shown himself rather an enemy than a preserver of the same."[1] Indignant and surprised, at this refusal, Mary remonstrated, entreated, and even threatened. But all was to no purpose. To her "many sore words," he replied with great calmness and humility, yet he continued firm in his reso-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Office, Randolph to Cecil, 8th May, 1565.

lution, and was dismissed from the presence of his Sovereign with a bitter accusation of ingratitude, and expressions of her high resentment.

This interview occurred on the 8th of May, and the Queen summoned a convention of her nobility to meet at Stirling on the 15th of the same month. Her object was, to obtain their consent to her marriage previous to the return of Lethington with the answer of Elizabeth, and to accomplish this, she despatched Beaton, a gentleman in whom she had much confidence, with new instructions, to be delivered to her secretary. They were drawn up in terms very different from his first commission: Mary commanded him to return to the Queen of England, and declare unto her, that since she had been so long trained with fair speeches, and, in the end, beguiled of her expectation, she had now resolved, with the advice of the Estates of her Realm, to use her own choice in her marriage, and to select such a one as in her opinion should be most worthy of the honour to which he was to be raised. The letter which contained these instructions was written wholly by herself. "It wanted," says Throckmorton, who had seen the original, "neither eloquence, despite, anger, love, nor passion,"[1] and was evidently dictated by a keen feeling of the ingratitude, duplicity and selfishness with which she had been treated by Elizabeth. He was also directed, after he had finished his negotiation in England, to pass over to France, and use his influence there to

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Throckmorton to Cecil and Leicester, 11th May, 1565.

procure from the French King and that court, an approval of her choice. To induce her Secretary to enter cordially into her views, Mary at the same time wrote to him with her own hand, "the most favourable and gentle letter that ever Queen did address to her servant," she sent him also a Bill of Credit, on the receivers of her dowry in France, empowering him to draw for any sum he pleased, and in the event of his success in this mission, promised him the highest preferment which it was in her power to bestow.[1]

Before, however, her messenger could reach London, Lethington had left that city on his return, and Elizabeth had despatched Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (her late Ambassador in France) on a mission to Scotland. He was instructed to communicate to the Scottish Queen the resolution of the English Privy Council, to notify her entire disapproval of her union with Darnley, and to take measures to prevent its precipitate consummation. When on the way to the English Court, Beaton encountered Lethington, near Newark, and communicated his message to the Scottish Secretary. Nothing can more strikingly show the treachery of Mary's ministers, and the entire licence they assumed of disobeying, when it was convenient for them, the commands of their Sovereign, than Lethington's conduct on this occasion. He heard the message, received the Queen's

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Throckmorton to Cecil and Leicester, 11th May, 1565.

letters, put them in his pocket, refused alike to return to London, or to pass into France, and posting forward with all speed, overtook Throckmorton at Alnwick; here he basely communicated to him the secret instructions he had received, and breaking into expressions of extreme rage and indignation towards his royal mistress, regretted that the English Ambassador was not empowered to denounce war against her in case she resolved to proceed in this marriage, with those whom he denominated the rebels of the English Queen.[1] The two Ambassadors then pursued their journey towards Scotland in company. "He was enjoined," said Throckmorton, (speaking of Lethington, and writing to Leicester and Cecil)" to stay me, that I should not come into Scotland, and contrary to that, he will not go without me."[2] Are we to wonder that, when Mary's affairs were managed by such men, she was anxious to change her counsellors, and to seek for fidelity in another faction.

In the mean time the convention of the nobility which had been summoned to deliberate upon the marriage, assembled at Stirling on the 15th May. It was most numerously attended, and included, with the exception of Lord Ochiltree, and a few others, the whole of the most influential nobles in the kingdom. There were present the Duke, with the Earls

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Throckmorton to Cecil and Leicester, 11th May, 1565.

[2] Ibid.

of Argile, Murray, Morton, Glencairn, Athol, Crawford, Eglinton, Cassillis, Rothes, and Caithness. The Lords Hume, Gray, Glamis, Borthwick, Yester, Fleming, Levingston, Semple, Ross, Lindsay, and Lovat. Besides these, there were the Officers of State, including the Secretary, the Justice Clerk, the Treasurer, and the Advocate, with the Commendators of Holyrood, Kilwinning, Jedburgh, St. Colm Inch, and Balmerinoch.[1] At this solemn assembly of her nobles, the Queen announced her intention of marrying Darnley, and the measure was approved of without a dissentient voice. Murray and his faction, whose real sentiments were strongly hostile to such a proceeding, appear to have been overawed into a temporary consent, whilst the great majority of her Barons, admitted its expediency, and advised that it should be carried into effect.[2] Thus confirmed in her purpose, Mary on the same day conferred the honour of knighthood upon Darnley, and immediately after created him Lord of Ardmanach and Earl of Ross. He then took the oaths, was girt with the sword, and on rising from his knees before the Queen, himself bestowed the dignity of knighthood upon fourteen gentlemen of ancient and loyal families, who knelt before the throne.[3] In the midst of these proceedings, word was brought that Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambassador of the Queen of England,

[1] Keith, p. 277.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 11th May, 1565.

[3] Keith, pp. 276, 280 inclusive. Also MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 21st. May, 1565.

was then at the gate of the Castle, and urgently demanded an audience. On being admitted, he delivered in strong language the remonstrance of his royal mistress, he expressed her surprise at the unadvised proceedings of the Scottish Queen, and complained loudly of the presumption of Lennox and Darnley, her own subjects, who, without giving her any previous notice, had dared to engage in such an enterprise. To this Mary replied with great calmness and dignity. She said, "That as soon as she had formed her resolution on the subject of her marriage, she had communicated her intentions to Elizabeth, which was all that she had ever promised to do. As to her good sister's great dislike to the match," she observed sarcastically, "that this was indeed a marvellous circumstance, since the selection was made in conformity to the Queen's wishes, as communicated by Mr. Randolph. She had rejected all foreign suitors, and had chosen an Englishman, descended from the blood royal of both kingdoms, and the first Prince of the blood in England; and one whom she believed would for these reasons be acceptable to the subjects of both realms."[1]

It was difficult for the Ambassador to answer this temperate remonstrance, which he knew to be founded in truth, and as the Queen treated him with much courtesy, and agreed to postpone the ceremony of creating Darnley Duke of Albany till she heard

[1] Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 21st May, 1565. Printed in Keith, p. 278.

again from Elizabeth, he judged it right neither to push matters to an extremity, nor to hold out any encouragement to her discontented nobles.

The English Queen, however, resorting to severer and more decided measures, ordered Lady Lennox into custody, having suspected her of intriguing with the Earl of Northumberland and other leaders of the Papists in England. At the same time, she again (12th June, 1565) submitted to her Privy Council the question of the marriage of the Scottish Queen. Their decision, as it is preserved in the original draft by Cecil, is of much importance in the light it throws on the state of parties in England. Two questions were propounded to the Council. 1st, What perils might ensue to the Queen's Majesty and her realm, upon the marriage of the Queen of Scotland with Lord Darnley? 2nd, What was meet to be done to avoid the same? "The perils," says Cecil, in his minute of what took place, "being sundry and very many, were reduced by some councillors to only two. 1st That by this marriage, the Queen's Majesty being unmarried, a great number in this realm, not of the worst subjects, might be alienated in their minds from their natural duties to her Majesty, to depend upon the success of this marriage of Scotland, as a mean to establish the succession of both the Crowns in the issue of the same marriage, and to favour all devices and practices that should tend to the advancement of the Queen of Scots.

Under the second peril it was observed, that con-

sidering the chief foundation of that (party) which favoured the marriage with the Lord Darnley, was laid upon the trust of such as were Papists, as the only mean left to restore the religion of Rome, it was plainly to be seen that, both in this realm and in Scotland, the Papists would most favour, maintain, and fortify the marriage of the Lord Darnley, and would, for furtherance of their faction in religion, devise all means and practices that could be within this realm, to disturb the Estate of the Queen's Majesty, and the peace of the realm, and consequently to achieve their purpose by force rather than fail."

The paper proceeds to point out, by way of warning to Elizabeth that when Mary's power was the greatest, namely, during her marriage with the Dauphin, she evinced her real mind to dispossess that Princess of her title, both by assuming the style and arms of England, and by troops sent into Scotland to accomplish her ambitious purposes. It then proceeds in these remarkable words :—" It is also to be remembered that, seeing now before this attempt of marriage, it was found and manifestly seen, that in every corner of the realm the faction that most favoureth the Scottish title is grown stout and bold, yea, seen manifestly in this court, both in hall and chamber, it could not be, but (except good heed were speedily given to it) the same faction would speedily increase by this marriage, and by the practice of the fautor (author) thereof, and grow so great and dangerous, as the redress thereof would be almost desperate. And to this purpose it was to be

remembered, how of late in perusing of the substance of the Justices of Peace in all the counties of the realm, *scantly a third part was found fully assured to be trusted in the matter of religion*, upon which only string the Queen of Scots' title doth hang; and some doubts might be that the friends of the Earl of Lennox had more knowledge of this than was meet, and thereby made their vaunt now in Scotland, that their party was so great in England, that the Queen's Majesty dared not attempt to oppose the marriage" In this sort was the sum of the perils declared.

Upon the second question, What was best to be done to avoid these dangers? it was determined that the first way was to obtain that the Queen's Majesty would marry, and hold them with no long delay. Secondly, that measures should be taken to advance and fortify the profession of religion, both in Scotland and in England. Third, that proceedings should be commenced, either altogether to break off this intended marriage, or at least to procure the same not to be so hurtful to the realm as otherwise it might be; and lastly, that some intelligence should be used in Scotland with the party opposed to the marriage, and comfort given them from time to time.[1]

It will be seen from this authentic paper, that the apprehensions entertained regarding the effects of this union with Darnley upon the Popish faction in

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Orig. Draft by Cecil, 4th June, 1565.

England (which was far stronger than is generally believed) were not altogether ideal. There seem to have been two parties amongst the English Protestants, who viewed the match with different feelings. Elizabeth herself, with the Earl of Leicester, and the powerful Anti-Cecilian faction which supported him, were suspected to regard the marriage with no great dislike, although for the moment, she judged it prudent to dissemble, and to appear deeply offended. It delivered the English Queen from the fear that Mary should make some potent foreign alliance—with Austria or Spain, and it kept at court her favourite Leicester. These sentiments, too, were well known at the Scottish court, and Randolph was repeatedly met by the observation, that the resentment of his royal mistress was mere dissimulation.[1] But the other party were more sincere and determined in their opposition. Cecil, Bedford and Randolph had deeply intrigued with Scotland; they believed that the overthrow of their friends, the Earls of Murray, Argile, and Lethington, would put an end to English influence in that country; they dreaded lest Lennox and Darnley might in time be won over by the Queen to re-establish the Romish Faith, which it was known they secretly professed, and they adopted every means to thwart the designs of the Scottish Queen. Nor were these means of the purest

[1] Throckmorton to Sir William Cecil, 21st May, 1565. Printed in Keith, p. 280. Also Randolph to Cecil, 2d July, printed in Keith, p. 288. Also MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 15th April, 1565. Ibid. same to same, 30th April, 1565.

or most upright kind. As long as Mary, deceived and drawn on by the protestations and duplicity of Elizabeth, placed herself under the guidance of this Princess, she was represented in the letters of Randolph as amiable, truthful, affectionate, and popular. The Protestants were described as contented, excepting only the most violent, whose conduct this Envoy repeatedly censures, and, (which is very remarkable,) not a year before this, both Murray and Lethington had assured the Queen of England, that the conduct of their royal mistress in respect to the reformed religion entitled her to high praise; its foundation they said was perfectly secure, whilst they enjoyed liberty of conscience, and the favour of their Prince, as abundantly as heart could wish.[1] From that moment till the present, not a step had been taken by the Queen of Scotland which could create suspicion in any reasonable mind, that she meditated aught against the national religion. On the contrary, the Romish party had been treated with undue severity, the private exercise of her religion had been threatened to be abridged, the sanctity of her chapel and her palace invaded, and the laws against the mass carried into the strictest execution; even where the offenders were of the highest rank in the Church. These were all facts with which Randolph, the English Minister, was perfectly familiar, and which can be proved from his own letters. Yet, no sooner did Mary fix her choice on Darnley; no sooner did it become

[1] MS., Letter, St. P. Off., Murray to Cecil, 13th July, 1564

apparent to Murray that his power was on the wane, and to Randolph, that the English faction in Scotland was likely to lose ground, and to be superseded in their authority, than the letters of this pliant Envoy abounded with complaints and misrepresentations. The reformed religion was described as not only in danger, but already ruined, and the godly undone; the Queen was said to be fallen into universal contempt; we are told, that her whole character had altered within a few days, that even her countenance and beauty were decayed, so that many thought she was bewitched, and lastly, that an irresistible party had resolved to oppose the marriage, and avert the ruin of their country.

The events which now occurred, and the conduct respectively pursued by Mary, the Protestants, and Elizabeth, proved these statements to be exaggerated and unfounded. The measures of the Scottish Queen, under an irritating opposition, were temperate and conciliating. She sent Hay, her Master of Requests, a prudent and able man, a favourer of Murray, and a friend of Randolph, on a mission to the English Queen. He was to labour not only to reconcile Elizabeth to her union with Darnley, but to state her anxiety to preserve peace, her resolution to postpone her marriage for a short time, and her desire that there should be a meeting of Commissioners from both countries, to deliberate on the best means of composing the differences which had occurred.[1] On

[1] Keith, p. 283. Instructions to Mr. John Hay. Also MS.

the other hand, the Protestants, led by Murray and Argile, attempted to overawe their Sovereign; they solicited earnestly the assistance of the English Queen, and debated among themselves, whether it would be best to assassinate Darnley, or to seize him and his father, and deliver them up to England. Some time before the mission of Hay, Randolph, describing the pride and passionate temper of this young favourite, thus writes to Cecil. "Her (Mary's) Councillors are now those whom she liked worst, the nearest of her kin, the farthest from her heart. My Lord of Murray liveth where he lists. My Lord of Ledington hath now both leave and time enough to make court unto his mistress.[1] * * David is he that now worketh all, Chief Secretary to the Queen, and only governor to her good man; the bruits here are wonderful—men talk very strange—the hazard towards him and his house marvellous great; his pride intolerable, his words not to be borne, but where no man dare speak again. He spareth not also, in token of his manhood, to let some blows fly where he knoweth that they will be taken. Such passions, such furies as I hear say that sometimes he will be in, is strange to believe. What cause this people hath to rejoice of this their worthy Prince, I leave it to the world to think. When they have said all, and thought what they can, they find nothing but that God must send him a short end, or them-

Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 12th June, 1565. Ibid. Mary to Elizabeth. St. Johnstone, 15th June, 1565.

[1] Ibid.

selves a miserable life; to live under such estate and government as this is like to be! What comfort can they look for at the Queen's Majesty's hands, or what support, if aught should be attempted, seeing the most part are persuaded that to this end he was sent into this country. I spare here to speak so much as I have heard, and knowing so little of the Queen's mind as I do, I know not what counsel or advice to give." * * * The letter then alludes to the great hazard of Murray and his party in these remarkable words. "To see so many in hazard, as now stand in danger of life land and goods, it is great pity to think —only to remedy this mischief, he (Darnley) must be taken away, or such as he hateth find such support, that whatsoever he intendeth to another may light upon himself. A little now spent in the beginning, yieldeth double fruit. What were it for the Queen's Majesty if she list not to do it by force, with the expense of three or four thousand pounds, to do with this country what she would." [1]

The proceedings of Elizabeth, were at this moment marked by that duplicity and desire to embroil Mary with her own subjects, which had all along characterised them. She had already placed the Countess of Lennox under restraint, but she now committed her to the Tower, a severity which could not fail to encourage Murray and his friends.[2] She sent a summons to the Earl of Lennox and his son,

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Leicester, 3d June, 1565.

[2] Mr. Stevenson's Illustrations of the reign of Queen Mary, p. 140.

Lord Darnley, commanding them on their allegiance, as English subjects, instantly to repair to her court.[1] Not long after, she addressed a letter to the Scottish Queen, declaring her entire disapproval of her proceedings, and she instructed Randolph not only directly to communicate with Murray's faction, but to assure them that she would support them against the malice of their enemies as long as their efforts were directed to maintain the religion, and to preserve the amity between the two kingdoms.[2]

Nothing upon the part of Murray could be more futile and unfounded than the pretence, that the Protestant religion was in danger, or that the Queen at this moment had adopted any measures which threatened its security. It is happy for the truth, that on such a point we have the declaration of Murray and Lethington themselves. On the 13th of July, 1564, they stated to Cecil, that the presence of Lennox in Scotland, even if he should be fortunate enough to ally himself with the most powerful person in the state, would be totally ineffectual to shake the national religion from that firm foundation on which it rested.[3] These declarations, indeed, were made a year before this, but during the course of that year, not only had the Scottish Queen introduced no one

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary, 18th June, 1565. (A Copy.)

[2] The Queen of England to Randolph, 10th July, 1565 Printed by Keith, p. 296.

[3] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 13th July, 1564. Also Ibid. Murray to Cecil, same date.

measure which could by any ingenuity, be deemed an attack upon the national religion, but she had shown the most decided determination to support it as the religion of the state, and to enforce the cruel and unjust laws against those who adhered to the public exercise of a contrary faith. It is evident, therefore, that the Earl of Murray and the party of the nobles, who opposed the marriage, had raised the cry of "danger to the Church" merely to cover their own designs.

The same remark does not apply to Knox, who, after his long estrangement from Murray, now once more acted in concert with him. To the stern uncompromising mind of this Reformer, the Mass was idolatry; so long as it maintained its place in the Queen's private chapel, he believed that the Protestant faith was in danger, and that in permitting its use, the preachers and the people committed a deadly sin. Murray had always contended for the right of the Queen to have the private exercise of her religion. Knox had as obstinately denied it. He contended that, by the word of God, and the laws of the land, every Priest who dared to celebrate, and every person who ventured to attend, the mass, was obnoxious to capital punishment, and he evidently considered that the sufferance of the "idol," under any circumstances, was a direct infringement upon the rights and the security of the national religion. He is to be judged therefore by a different standard from that which must be applied to his ambitious

and potent ally. Murray was the slave of private ambition: his paramount desire evidently was to retain the great power which he possessed, and in his efforts to effect this, he repeated the same game which ambition has so often played; he masked his selfish projects under a zeal for religion. Knox, on the other hand, however fierce, dictatorial, and even unscrupulous as to means, was perfectly honest. No Church plunder can be traced to his hands; no pensions from England or France secured his services, nor is there the slightest evidence (at least I have discovered none) that at any time he pursued a scheme of personal aggrandisement, separate from that spiritual authority which attached itself to him as the great leader of the Reformation. His character was great, irregular, and imperfect. His views were often erroneous. In his mind many subjects assumed an undue importance and magnitude, whilst others, especially those connected with the practical influence of the gospel upon the heart and conduct, were often neglected or forgotten. But in his public career, he was consistent, fearless, sincere; the single object to which he devoted himself was to establish on a sure foundation, what he believed to be the only true faith—the only form of worship consistent with the declarations of Scripture, and the glory of God. It is needless to point out to what a height this raises him above Murray, Argile, Lethington, and the crowd of venal barons by whom he was surrounded.

Mary had summoned a convention of her nobility, to be held at St. Johnstone on the 22d of June.[1] It was her intention in this assembly to procure their final consent to her union with Darnley, and to fix the period of her marriage. Instead of obeying her wishes, the discontented barons vigorously exerted themselves to traverse all her schemes. Murray refused to come to Perth, alleging that his life was in danger from a conspiracy formed by Darnley; Argile, in concert with Knox and the preachers, appointed the general assembly of the Church to be held at Edinburgh, whilst the Convention was sitting at Perth. There seems to be no doubt that the faction of Murray and the party of Knox now acted in concert, and the Reformer, who possessed great influence with the people, bestirred himself so successfully against the Queen, that in a convocation of the citizens, held in the fields near Edinburgh, it was resolved to arm and organize the burgesses, to choose captains, and to seize the weapons of such as were believed, favourable to the marriage. At the same time, after lengthened debates, the general assembly drew up a supplication to their Sovereign.[2] It requested that the blasphemous mass, and all Popish idolatry should be abolished, not only throughout the kingdom, but also in her royal person and household; that true religion, as it is founded on the

[1] Letter, Randolph to Cecil, in Keith, p. 287, 2nd July, 1565.

[2] Spottiswood, p. 190.

word of God, should be professed as well by herself as by her subjects, and that it should be made obligatory upon all persons to resort to the preaching of the word, and to prayers, if not every day, at least every Sunday. It proposed that some sure provision should be made for the support of the ministers of the Gospel. That pluralities should be abolished; a strict examination instituted into the appointment of all teachers of youth in schools and colleges; a fund set apart for the maintenance of the poor, out of those lands which of old were destined to hospitality, and some relief devised for the poor labourers of the soil, who were oppressed in the payment of their tithes by unreasonable and illegal exactions.[1]

This petition was entrusted to the Earl of Glencairn, with five Commissioners, who repaired to Perth, (1st July, 1565) and presented it to the Queen. Her conduct at this crisis, is entitled to much praise. She was alarmed by the accounts of the hostile and tumultuous assembly of the citizens in Edinburgh, and when she read the demands of the Church, it was evident that they approached indefinitely near to the compelling herself, and all who adhered to the Romish faith, to renounce what they believed to be true, and embrace what they were persuaded was false. Yet her answer was temperate and conciliatory; she declared that it was impossible for her to renounce the mass herself, or to abolish it in her household, not being yet persuaded that there was

[1] Spottiswood, p. 190.

any impiety in this great service of the Church. She reminded the Commissioners, how completely liberty of conscience, since her arrival in her dominions, had been permitted to all her subjects, and she expected in return, she said, "the same liberty to be granted to herself. As for the establishment of religion in the body of the realm, she declared, that she was ready to abide by the decision of the three Estates of Parliament, as soon as they were convened, and to whom alone, as they were well aware, the determination of so important a question belonged."[1]

A more gentle and reasonable reply to an extravagant demand, could hardly have been given, but the discontented Lords were still unsatisfied. They were undone if the Queen was left to follow her own wishes, and the marriage went forward, and, acting under this conviction, they resolved either to compel her to submit to their dictation, or to put it out of her power to carry her designs into effect. With this purpose, Murray, Argile, and Lord Boyd, held a secret meeting at Lochleven,[2] and from thence sent a confidential messenger to communicate their designs to Randolph, and to understand from him, whether Elizabeth would receive Lennox and Darnley if they were seized, and sent prisoners to Berwick. The Ambassador answered, that the Queen, his mis-

[1] Spottiswood, p. 190. Keith, p. 289. Randolph to Cecil, 2nd July, 1565.

[2] Mr. Stevenson's Illustrations of the reign of Mary, p. 118. Argile and Murray to Randolph, 1st. July, 1565.

tress, would receive her own subjects, "in what sort soever they came;" and thus encouraged, these daring men formed a plot to attack the Scottish Queen as she rode, with Darnley in her company, from Perth to Callendar, a seat of Lord Livingston's. The route to be travelled afforded two favourable situations for such a surprise; the one a wild narrow defile, near Perth, called the Pass of Dron,[1] the other a tract of broken and difficult ground, near Beith, some miles north of the Queen's Ferry. It was intended, according to Randolph's account, to have carried Mary to St. Andrew's, and Darnley to Castle Campbell, but these were only preliminary steps; Murray's ultimate object (if we may believe the assertion of a brother conspirator) was to murder Darnley, seize the government, and imprison the Queen for life in Lochleven.[2]

This traitorous plot was signally defeated by the courage and celerity of Mary's movements. Having received some hint of her danger, she commanded Athole and Ruthven to assemble their followers, and leaving Perth with an escort of three hundred horse in the dawn of the morning, traversed the country with the utmost speed, passed Lochleven and Kinross, without drawing bridle, pushed on to the Ferry, and crossing the Firth, reached Calendar House in

[1] Knox, p. 412.

[2] Randolph to Cecil, 4th July, 1565, in Keith, p. 291. Also, "Instructions and Articles addressed to the Commissioners of the Queen of Scots, 12th Sep. 1568. Goodall vol. ii. pp. 358, 359.

safety. Two hours after she passed, Argile appeared at Kinross, but the prey had escaped him, and their treacherous enterprise becoming publicly known, excited the utmost indignation in the country.[1] Disappointed in this attempt, Murray and his associates made a last attempt to rouse the people. They resumed in a still louder tone the cry, that the Queen was determined to overthrow religion, to break the amity which had of late united them to England, and to commence anew her persecution of the brethren. They implored the assistance and support of Elizabeth, assured her that Bothwell, the mortal enemy of English influence, had been sent for—besought her to let loose "some strapping Elliots" upon Lord Hume, Mary's great partizan, on the marches towards Lothian, who might keep his hands full at home, and attempted to rouse her jealousy by spreading rumours of an intercourse with France and Rome.[2] But from neither quarter did they receive much sympathy or encouragement; Elizabeth fed them with empty promises, the people grew lukewarm or suspicious. They were aware of no act upon the part of the Queen which manifested hostility to their religion; on the contrary, when at Callendar, she had, for the first time in her life, attended the Protestant sermon. She declared her readiness to hear Erskine of Dun, one of the leading Reformers, but a man of a mild and peaceable disposition, in his

[1] Randolph to Cecil, in Keith, p. 291. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 135.

[2] Randolph to Cecil 4th July, 1565. Keith, pp. 294, 295.

exposition of the errors of the Church of Rome, and she hastened by a solemn proclamation to assure her subjects, that no alteration was meditated in the national religion; that the same liberty of conscience which since her arrival in her dominions had been enjoyed by all classes of her people, should still be maintained in its fullest sense.[1]

At the same time, Mary exerted herself with uncommon vigor against the insurgent Lords: as Argile, her great enemy, and the most powerful ally of Murray, had collected his vassals, and was about to attack Athole, a nobleman who strenuously supported her, she dispatched Lethington and the Justice Clerk to arrest hostilities, and commanded them, in her name, to disband their forces.[2] Aware that a convocation of Murray's adherents was to be held at Glasgow, she sent a herald to that city, to forbid all such illegal assemblies, under pain of treason,[3] and at the same time she prorogued the meeting of the three Estates from July to September, justly thinking that it would have been vain and premature to attempt to hold a calm legislative assembly, whilst a powerful faction, assisted and stimulated by the intrigues of England, were plotting to raise a civil war, and seemed not unlikely to succeed. But her last measure was the most decisive of all. She

[1] MS. Privy Council Book, p. 73. It is printed in Keith, Appendix, pp. 106, 107.

[2] MS. accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, under July 6, 1565.

[3] Ibid. under July 12, 1565.

summoned her subjects to meet her instantly in arms in the capital, with fifteen days' provision, that she might proceed against her enemies.[1]

Yet, whilst Mary felt herself compelled to adopt these severe proceedings against her insurgent barons, she made a final effort to reclaim Murray, the head of the revolt. He had refused to attend the convention at Stirling; alleging, that his life was in danger, from a conspiracy of Lennox and Darnley. These noblemen indignantly repelled the charge, and the Scottish Queen, anxious to do justice to both parties, summoned him to appear, and make good his accusation. Lest he should plead that his obedience to her commands might expose him to the attacks of his enemies, she sent him her letters of safe-conduct. This passport extended protection, not only to him, but to eighty attendants—no insufficient body-guard certainly; and to prevent all possibility of cavil, it was signed, not by the Queen alone, but by all her Privy Council. At the same time Darnley transmitted a friendly message; and Lennox, for himself and his son, not only disclaimed the base designs imputed to them, but besought him to give up his informer, and offered to fight any one who dared avow the slander.[3] This peremptory

[1] Keith, p. 298. She at the same time addressed close letters to the principal nobles and gentry of her kingdom, requiring their instant attendance. Keith, p. 299.

[2] Keith, p. 108. Appendix. Assurance to the Earl of Murray. Also, p. 110. Appendix.

[3] Keith, p. 302.

summons Murray did not think proper to obey, and his refusal was favourable to the cause of the Queen. It warned Mary that nothing but open force could reduce her opponents, and it convinced many who were wavering, that the alleged conspiracy was an invention of his own, equally unfounded with the alarm regarding the overthrow of the Protestant religion, and got up for the same purpose, of veiling his attempt for the recovery of the power which he had lost.

Meanwhile he had no mean assistant in Randolph. The character of this crafty agent of Cecil was of that accommodating and equivocal kind, which, without loving misrepresentation (to use a mild word) for its own sake, did not hesitate to employ it, when he thought it would forward the designs of his royal mistress, or of her principal minister. As long as all went smoothly in Scotland, as long as the Queen, deceived by the promises of Elizabeth, and acting under the guidance of Murray, was willing to consult the wishes of her royal sister, the letters of Randolph convey to us a pretty fair picture of the conduct of Mary, and the progress of events; but as soon as she began to act for herself—as soon as her brother, the friend of England, was stript of his power and lost his influence, this minister transmitted to Cecil, and to the English Queen, the most false and distorted accounts of the state of the country. His object was, to induce Elizabeth to assist the insurgent Lords with money and troops, as she had already done in the war of the

Reformation, and to accomplish this end, he not only concealed the truth, but did not scruple to employ calumny and falsehood. He represented Mary's proceedings to her nobles as tyrannical, when they were forbearing; he described her as earnestly bent on the destruction of religion, when for five years she had maintained it exactly as she found it on her arrival, and had recently, by a solemn proclamation, declared her determination to preserve the fullest liberty of conscience; he painted her as an object of contempt to her subjects, when she was popular and beloved; and as deserted by her nobles and her people, when, in consequence of the late summons, her Barons and vassals were daily crowding into the capital.[1] On the other hand, Murray and his faction were equally falsely depicted as so strong, that the country lay at their mercy, whilst they waited only for the advice and the money of England, to sweep away every opposition, and compel the Queen to place herself once more at their disposal. These accounts, however, made little impression upon the English Queen, and it is probable that she was aware of their being inconsistent with the truth. She directed her Ambassador, however, to intercede for Murray, but the application, as might have been expected, met with no success. Mary

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, July 7, 1565. Also, Keith, p. 301. Randolph to Cecil, 19th July, 1565. Again in Keith, p. 287, Randolph to Cecil, 2nd. July, 1565. again in in Keith, p. 304, Randolph to Cecil, 21st July, 1565. And MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to the Queen, 23d July, 1565.

thanked her good sister for her advice, but lamented that she should be so entirely misinformed. "Those," said she to Randolph, "whom your mistress calls my best subjects, I can never account so, as they resist my authority, and the Queen must not be offended if I pursue the remedy which I have in my own hands.[1] The Ambassador then addressed himself to Lennox and Darnley, reminding them of Elizabeth's peremptory order for their repair into England, and charging them, as her subjects, to obey it, but he met with a decided refusal, from the father in terms of respect, from the son in so proud and insolent a tone, that Randolph turned his back upon him, and they parted in contempt and anger.[2]

In the midst of these transactions, the insurgent Lords became daily convinced, that if not speedily supported by England, their struggle must be brought to a calamitous termination. Every hour added to the strength of the Queen; her solemn public assurances, that no alteration was meditated in the national religion, her successful detection of the interested schemes, and false representations of her enemies, the vigor and decision with which she acted, and the anxiety she evinced to preserve amity with Elizabeth, although irritated by the constant misrepresentations and seditious intrigues of Randolph, all these circumstances produced the most favourable effect, and convinced the great body of

[1] Keith, p. 303, Randolph to Cecil, 21st July, 1565.
[2] Keith, p. 304.

her subjects that Murray and the faction who opposed her measures, were actuated by no other motives than selfishness and ambition.

It was now the end of July, and Chisholm, Bishop of Dumblane, having arrived from Rome, with a dispensation for the marriage, it was intimated to the people by a public proclamation, that the Queen had resolved to take to her husband an illustrious Prince, Henry Duke of Albany, for which reason she commanded her subjects henceforth to give him the title of King. Next day, being Sunday, the 29th of July, the ceremony was performed in the royal chapel of Holyrood, at six in the morning. Mary was habited in deep mourning, and it was superstitiously observed, that it was the same dress which she wore on the melancholy day of her late husband's obsequies. After the solemnity, and when the youthful pair had risen from the altar, Darnley embraced and kissed the bride, and retiring from the chapel, left her to hear the mass alone, surrounded only by those nobles who adhered to the ancient faith. On the conclusion of the service, being conducted back to her chamber, she consented, at the earnest entreaty of her husband, to renounce her weeds, and assume a costume more suited to the happiness of the day. The banquet succeeded, in which the Queen was served by the Earl of Athole, as sewer, Morton, as carver, and Crawford, as cupbearer. The King, sitting beside her, was waited on by the Earls of Eglinton, Cassillis, and Glencairn. Money in abundance was scattered amongst the

guests, the hall rang with music, and cries of "largess," and the evening closed with the dances and revelry which generally accompany such joyous and regal festivals.[1] Mary was then in her twenty-third, and Darnley had probably just completed his nineteenth year.

[1] Randolph to Leicester, July 30th; in Robertson's Appendix, N XI. Strange to say, even this noted Letter, which had been printed by Robertson, has been printed as if for the first time by Van Raumer. Also Keith, p. 307. Chalmers' Life of Mary, vol. ii. p. 127.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM

MANUSCRIPTS;

CHIEFLY IN

HIS MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE,

HITHERTO UNPRINTED.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

I.

Fiery Cross sent through Scotland.

History, p. 23.

"He sent the Fiery Cross throughout the Country."

On this subject there is the following interesting entry in the MS. Books of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland—under the date, 28 August, 1547.

Item—My Lord Governor's grace being surely advertised, that the Army of England was at hand; to Mungo Strathern Messenger, letters of Proclamation, *with the Fire Cross*, to Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Cromarty, Nairn, Inverness, and Bills again, to the Earls of Huntly, Errol, and the Master of Forbes. iiii. lb.

Item—To Normand, Pursuivant, same letters, with the *Fire Cross*, to Linlithgow, Stirling, Clackmannan, Kinross, Perth—and all other quarters.

II.

State of Scotland,

After the Battle of Pinky.

1st. History, p. 44. "The land was shamefully deserted by the greater part of its nobility."

This is a severe charge; but the following letters, selected from many others which I have transcribed from the State Paper Office,

will prove that it is not unmerited. The leading nobles in Scotland at this time were the Earls of Angus, Huntley, Argile, and Sir George Douglas, brother to Angus. All of them deserted the Governor, and entered into secret and treasonable transactions with England. I proceed to prove this by the evidence of original letters :—

On the 10th of September, the Battle of Pinky was fought, and on the 18th of the same month, the Protector Somerset commenced his retreat. On the 20th of October, Lord Gray, of Wilton, addressed a letter to the Protector,[1] in which he gives the substance of an interview which passed between him and Sir George Douglas. He (Douglas) says Gray, liked well all the Articles, (alluding to the Secret Articles of Agreement mentioned in the text, p. 44), except that by which, in the event of the young Queen's marriage to any other than Edward the VI, they bind themselves to serve the King's Majesty against their own country" He began, (I use the words of Gray's letter) "He began to allege what it was to forsake his native country, and living there, he showed me also that he had yearly of *the Queen, a stipend of one thousand crowns, and of the French King as much,* and now, since his being with me, the Governor sent for him, to speak to him, and *offered him an Abbey of another thousand crowns by year,* but he came not at him, nor will not do, but if I would mitigate that article, he was contented with the rest. I showed him, that if he refused part, he must refuse the whole. * * And then at the last he granted thereunto, *and hath both made his othe upon the testament to observe them,* and subscribed the same for a witness thereof, in sort as all others have done." Douglas entreated Gray to induce the Lord Protector to erase this Article, which Gray assured him he was not likely to do. He then communicated his "*device,*" which, with certain requests on his own behalf, Gray inclosed to Somerset. Douglas declared that he intended to go with them (the English army) himself and be their guide, but enjoined secrecy of this private transaction, as if it transpired, he should not be able to win his friends. I subjoin a brief abstract of the paper, given in by Douglas, entitled, "The order of an Invasion into Scotland, devised by Sir George Douglas, to be at-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Lord Gray to the Protector, 20th Oct. 1547.

tempted within a month after the date hereof, or six weeks at the farthest." He states that the number ought to be six thousand men—two thousand five hundred to be horse—and victuals in carriages sufficient for four days, for the whole. They should direct their march, *first*, to Jedburgh—to meet the lairds of Ferniherst and Cessford, and the rest of the gentlemen of Teviotdale, who must be sent for—no manner of spoil or hurt to be done.

2nd. Journey to Selkirk—where they will meet Buccleugh and the rest of the gentlemen.

3rd. To Pebles—to meet Lord Hay, of Yester. (Sister's son to Douglas.)

4th. To Lanerk. Where the Governor is Sheriff. Here he would that the Earls of Angus, Cassillis, Glencairn, and the Lord Boyd, should come in.

5th. To Glasgow, and 6th. To Stirling.[1]

This crafty Baron next handed in a paper, which he probably considered not the least important part of the transaction. It is entitled,

THE REQUESTS OF GEORGE DOUGLAS

For his own part: and consists of four stipulations. 1st, To have one thousand pounds sterling, within eleven days, to support himself, friends, and strengths, against the authority, and to have a yearly stipend of five hundred pounds sterling. 2d, His friends not to be oppress. 3d, That he may have his goods, silver, money, plate, and apparel, that he left in his hostess' house in Berwick, delivered to him. 4th, to have from the English King, the keeping of the Fort at Aymouth. ——— The Lord Gray addressing Somerset, adds this emphatic sentence, "Your Grace,

[1] From a curious paper, published for the first time by Mr. Stevenson, in his "Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary," p. 99, from the Harleian MS. 289, fol. 73, we learn that this intended Invasion was stopt by the advice of Thomas Bishop, an adherent of Lennox, who on good grounds suspected that Douglas was acting treacherously.

"My device to him (the Protector), says Bishop and the Duke of Northumberland, at Shene, stopt my Lord Gray from entering Scotland with six thousand men, whereof the greatest force horsemen, being then the flower of England—his journey being devised by George Douglas, to have brought them to the butchery, as well was known after. The article (communication) to him in that matter at good length will declare."

I doubt not, considereth that this *man would not be won without money*, and albeit he demandeth a *thousand pounds* in hand, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with *a thousand marks*. These extracts sufficiently prove the venality and desertion of his country by Sir George Douglas. The following letter from Angus, his brother, to Sir Andrew Dudley, the English Governor of the Fort of Broughty (see text, p. 40), establishes the same fact against that nobleman.

THE EARL OF ANGUS TO SIR ANDREW DUDLEY.

" Trusty cousin and hearty friend. After most hearty commendations, may it please you I have received your writing the 16th day of December, at Douglas, and understand the same, thanking you greatly of your kind offers. And as anent my assurance, in this manner I have assured my kind friends and servants, because my bands is sae meikle, wheos names could not be specified. * * * * * * * * praying you heartily as my special trust is in you, to be good and friendfull to my servants and friends as Patie Lynn, James Anderson, and my servants of Arbroath, which no more I cannot specify unto you shortly. And as for my servants and friends, I shall use them as ye do. And as anent the siege of the King's Craig-house of Broughty, I was warned to the same by the Queen's Grace and the Governor. I had business I showed them, that I might not come. They sent special of the Council to me, and offered me great rewards to come to the same. *I cause all my friends and servants to stop and remain.* * * * he could not make any more on this side the Frith but sixty of honest men. And as long as he was at the siege, I had posts running daily forth of my lands of Hermitage, to see how you fared in all causes, and have my answers, the which I shall show you at our meeting. And as anent the coming in the country, I should have been with you ere now, were not the coming of the Earl of Lennox in Scotland * *. And I have appointed friends to convene the 18th day of this instant month, towards that matter, to set him forward in his affairs, the which shall be shortly, will God. And I (mean to) advertise my Lord of Lennox, with two of my honest friends, Glencairn, Cassillis, or

Lord Boyd, or Creichton, of all purposes three days afore. This is the principal stop that holds me from you longer. There after I shall be at you with diligence. Anything that you would advertise me of, shortly send it to Arbroath, and they will haste it to me. Thus, fare ye well, most heartily. At Douglas, the 18th of December.

Your cousin, Lord Earl of Anguish."[1]

I have mentioned two other powerful noblemen, as deserting the Governor, and embracing the English interest. The Earls of Huntly and Argile. Huntly was a Roman Catholic; his possessions and power in the north, were almost kingly; he had been taken prisoner at Pinky, and was anxious to be permitted to return to Scotland on his parole. Argile, on the other hand, was the great rival of Huntly in the north, he had escaped at Pinky, he was a supporter of the Reformation, and one of the most able and ambitious men in Scotland. The Protector Somerset played the one against the other. Argile, on the 25th December, 1547, had come to St. Johnston, with an army of Highlandmen, thinking to annoy Dudley, the English Governor of Broughty, and ravage the country, which had taken assurance of the English. Some time after this, he threatened to join the French in besieging Broughty,[2] and continued these hostile denunciations till the 5th of February, 1547-8, when Sir Andrew Dudley addressed a letter to the Protector in which he informed him, that at the suit of Lord Gray, (of Scotland) and other gentlemen of Angus, he had granted Argile an assurance for twenty days for the whole country of Angus.—There then follows this sentence:—"There were two assurances made between the Earl of Argile and me (Dudley), the one *open* to the Bishops and Council, the other *secret* between Argile, Gray and me, to be a favourer of the King's godly purpose, and to take the King's Majesty's part in the same, on which communing the Lord Gray *borrowed one thousand crowns of me to give the Earl of Argile, to make him the more earnest*

[1] MS. Letters, St. P. Off. December, 18, 1547.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B. C. Dudley to the Protector, 22nd Jan. 1547-8.

in the same, as appeareth by a bill sent your Grace . . . it shall please your Grace . . . to send some man shortly with a commission, and authority to commune with the Earl of Argile. The Lord Gray *putteth no doubt but that for a pension and a certain sum of money, your Grace shall win him to the King's Majesty's godly purpose, and to be an earnest setter forth of the same.*" [1]

On the 7th February, 1547-8, Lord Gray of *Scotland* addressed a letter to the Protector, in which he informed him, that he had borrowed five hundred ryals (one thousand crowns) and had given them to Argile, "for the good causes he had done to his Grace's affairs." He adds, that a Commissioner must be sent from England to treat with Argile, who is, "wonderfully given to favour the King's (Edward's) godly purpose." [2]

The Commissioner sent to treat with Argile, was John Brende, muster master of Berwick. On the 6th March, 1547-8, Dudley informed the Protector, that the Scottish Earl had come to Cowper, and that Lord Gray (of Scotland) had ridden with Mr. Brenne that morning to communicate with him there [MS. Letter, State Paper Office, 6th March, 1547-8. Sir Andrew Dudley to the Protector]. The result of this communication appears from a letter of Brende to the Protector [MS. Letter, State Paper Office, 9th March, 1547-8.] It states, that on the 6th of that month, he with Lord Gray, met Argile, near St. Johnston's. Brende thanked him for the good disposition which he had shown to the purpose of the marriage. Argile regretted the damage done by the war, and professed his willingness to work some mean for the redress thereof. Brende then wished to draw him on to make some proposal or some promise. This he warily declined, requesting him to show what the Protector required; Brende then proceeds thus, "And when I was about to declare, he bad stay; 'I am held,' quoth he, 'in a marvellous jealousy, and there be,' he said, 'certain of the Council mortal enemies to your part. I would therefore,' quoth he, 'to colour the matter, ye should devise to speak somewhat openly to me, before them of such matter as ye think good, which shall be a mean that, without sus-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 5th Feb. 1547-8. Sir Andrew Dudley to the Protector.

[2] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Lord Gray to the Protector, 7th Feb. 1547-8.

picion, ye may treat *secretly* with me of such things as be of moment.' Then called he before him the Abbot of Cowper, the Lord called Stuard, Sir John Cammel, and divers others. This gentleman, quoth he, hath commission to me, and because it partly toucheth you, ye shall hear what he will say,' Brende then proceeded to declare the purpose of the marriage, the opposition of evil men, and the cause of the war. 'And thereupon,' says he, 'I plucked forth, and presented to the Earl a parcel of my instructions, which I had drawn forth for that purpose (nothing mentioning the Earl (Argile) nor any proffer made unto him) but only purporting a present contract of marriage, &c., the delivering the Castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar, as pledges for the Queen's entry into England, and the conditions of peace. When this was done, the Earl somewhat spoke, 'how greatly fair means might prevail in this matter, and how much violence made against the purpose,' which words confirmed with a churme (murmur) of those that stood about; somewhat I did speak again to the purpose, when violence should be used, and in what cases it was lawful for Princes to use the sword. Then *did he draw me aside,* and allowed my device. 'Hereupon,' quoth he, '*we shall colour our treaty, and blind these wolves eyes,' and willed me to proceed in my secret commission.*

Brende then thanked him for his good disposition, and told him, they knew he had the power, wherefore if good will were joined in him with power there would be no further doubt of success. He (Brende) showed the great advantages which would ensue, besides the honour to himself, 'and so declared his reward for bringing it to pass,'—that is, for accomplishing the first point of his instructions, viz:—the delivery of the Queen. 'If all things' said he, (Argile) 'had chanced well she had been in my hands ere this, for if after the battle (Pinkey) pursuit had been made, she had come into my country; and she wrote to me for the same purpose at the last entry of the Lord Gray. But now,' quoth he, 'she is in Dumbarton,—and you may easily come by her,' quoth I, 'or else devise how she may be had.' 'No,' said he, 'it is impossible the castle is stark (strong) and if force could prevail, it were unfitting for me to enforce my natural lady.' * * * After great persuasion, he agreed with me upon that point like as it

may appear unto your Grace by the paper of articles subscribed with his hand, and sealed with his seal, sent herewith unto your Grace. And because his resolution therein was not to the full effect of my instructions, I took advantage of his promise therein, and passed to the

"2nd point, which he liked well (except the authority of the Priests, not provided for in the articles) saying, 'he would pass to the Court, and persuade the Governor and the Queen immediately to send Ambassadors for the accomplishment of of it. 'And if,' quoth I, 'they will not agree to your request, what will ye do then?' 'What would you I should do?' quoth he, then I plucked forth a paper of the third degree, as I had them all four severally written, touching the *taking of open part* with the King's Majesty, and showed it him—he required to have it, that he might read it, and examine it with himself."

"When he had put the same in his bosom, we fell in the rehearsal of divers things, and knowing of a certain envy between the Earl of Huntly and him, I took occasion to talk of the said Earl. When he heard him named, he started, and beating his fist upon the board, said, 'If ye let him home, ye mar all.' Whereupon I took occasion. 'My Lord,' quoth I, 'therefore it behoveth you to take this matter on hand, for if you will not, he may perchance be so persuaded, that he himself will enterprize this thing,' which words ——— moved him marvellous much, and he said, 'Marry! I will do it indeed.'—Then proceeded I, 'If the Governor will still see the ruin of the country, and still stand on the contrary part, what shall become of him?' 'No Governor,' quoth he. 'Who then,' quoth I, 'is so meet as your Lordship? 'I think,' quoth he, 'I have most friends and power. If then,' quoth I, 'we have the favour and power of England joined thereunto, who shall withstand you.' 'It is true,' quoth he. Finally he condescended to the third article in this effect.' That if the Queen and the Governor would not agree to these covenants, then would he straitway repair to Argile, there call all his friends about him, declare to them his mind, and require them to take his part in this purpose, and then to send one unto your Grace, to conclude upon certain points of his proceeding before he do further. * * I perceive he would covenant to have aid against his enemies in the

North by sea, and require that the Earl of Lennox should have no power on his lands in the West parts. When I saw he had thus condescended, I did not touch the fourth degree, otherwise than that he should lett (hinder) the conveyance away of the Queen."

Brende then promised him an assurance for his country for fifteen days. At first Argile would not subscribe, or set his seal to the agreements which Brende had drawn. The English Envoy then broke off; but late in the night, when all were in bed, he sent Lord Gray to urge Argile, 'and finally after four or five times going and coming betwixt us in the dead time of night, he at last was brought to such case, that in the morning he signed.' Argile's character, as given by Brende, is this. "I have heard him reported to be much constant. I found him humane, wise and grave, in whom I could have believed all things that he said if I had not determined in them to trust nothing at all. I judge him greedy of gere, desirous of authority, * * * and therefore moved unto this by the envy he beareth to the Governor, and the emulation he hath with the Earl of Huntly, which will be ever of the contrary part to him, therefore the matter, in my opinion, consisteth in this point, whether your Grace's purpose may take better effect in letting the Earl of Huntly home, so to raise factions betwixt them, or else by detaining him to have the Earl of Argile wholly in that part, if so be he will stand unto his promise."—The Letter which contains the above interesting details, is dated Warkworth, 9th March. 1547-8.—and signed, JOHN BRENDE.

Notwithstanding the promise to Argile, the Protector entered into a secret agreement with the Earl of Huntly, who engaged if allowed to return home, to embrace the English faction, and further the King's (Edward the VI.) Majesty's affairs. This appears from the following letter of Huntly, to the Protector, dated Newcastle, 20th March, 1547-8.[1]

THE EARL OF HUNTLY TO THE PROTECTOR.

"My Lord,—After most humble commendations of service unto your Grace, it pleases you to witt We arrived at Newcastle 18th, and has heard no word of Scotland yet, except a man of mine who came with my Lord Gray, Lieutenant, and met me by the way.

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off.

My said Lord Gray has informed you how all passes in Scotland, better nor I can presently. My Lord, I am credibly advertised that our Governor repents that our Mistress is past to Dumbarton, and is labouring to bring her Grace again to . . . (Stirling), which is promised to him, how soon her Grace bees whole in person. She has been very sick in the small pox, and not yet whole. My Lord Governor, as I am advertised, will be brought I lyppenyt (trust) to get hasty word by his Grace of the same, and if commissioners shall come to the borders for end of all these affairs, may it please your Grace to show my Lord Gray who shall meet with them, and of your Grace's mind in that behalf; your Grace shall be sure of such service as I may do, to the furthering of the King's Majesty's affairs, in all sorts as your Grace will command, as my duty is shall shortly know indeed, and shall to him, as I can get intelligence, not doubting the best part, and favour the peace better nor and your Grace's purpose, which I pray God send to the weal and union of both the realms, that have so long been at discord. And further your Grace may command me, and in what place I may do best service, shall be ay ready at your Grace's charge. My Lord, I am not able to give your good Grace most humble thanks for the great goodness and humanity shown to me, who have ever yet deserved the contrar, albeit, gif it be in me possible, I shall make such amends, as my wit or power may serve. My Lord, I pray the living God have ever your Grace in his tuition—at the New Castle, the 20th day of March.

Your Grace's humble Servant at Power.

The signature of this letter, some words of which are illegible, is gone, but there is a Cotemporary Docquet on the back, "xx March. Th' Erle of Huntley to my L. P."

It is stated in this volume, p. 45, that in the enterprise or invasion of the Lord Wharton, on 18th Februrary, 1547-8, the Earl of Lennox commanded the Scottish Borderers in the service of Edward VI. The result of this disastrous expedition is given in the text, but the following letter of Lennox, addressed to the Protector Somerset, after his return, will convince the reader of the calm

treachery with which this Scottish nobleman could talk of the *King's Majesty's* (Edward the VI.) *possessions in the west* parts of Scotland.

Earl of Lennox to the Lord Protector.[1]

"Pleased your most noble Grace to be advertised, that whereupon my suit, it pleased your Grace to be so much my good Lord, to grant my entry into Scotland, for the service of the King's Majesty, with such Scottishmen as be lately come to his Highness' devotion, for the which I most humbly thank your Grace, according to the same, and at command of your Grace's several letters to my Lord Wharton for that purpose, I entered, and by his Lordship's advice, proceeded, as your Grace hath been here before advertised. And of entent your Grace should know more at large the order thereof, and also my repair again to Carlisle at your Grace's pleasure, for the full accomplishment of such service, as for divers occasions at this time could not have been done, my friend, Thomas Bishop, the King's Majesty's servant, is instructed to declare the same at length, to whom it will please your Grace give firm credence. And by him would be most glad to know your Grace's further pleasure and commandments, which I shall obediently, God willing, to the uttermost of my poor power accomplish.

"It will also please your Grace to be advertised, that there is a little Abbacy, called Holywood, of a hundred pounds a year, now vacant, and within the precincts of *the King's Majesty's possessions of the West parts of Scotland*, which the Governor has given to the Sheriff of Air, as will appear by a letter, with other writs, sent to me of late forth of Scotland, which I send unto your Grace herewith. I would most humbly beseech your Grace, at my poor suit, to grant your Grace's gift of the same to my cousin, the *Laird of Closeburn*, who serves the King's Majesty very well, and is a man of power, for whose constancy and honesty in his Highness's service, I will be bounden, and to my friend Thomas Bishop, whom with him he would were And God willing, with your Grace's aid and favor, the same shall be defended Contrar the

[1] Border Corr., St. P. Off. Orig., 26th Dec. 1547, Castle of Wrissel.

Sheriff of Ayr, or any others enemies to the King's Majesty in that realm. And thus prays Almighty God to preserve your Grace in most long and prosperous life, with much increase of honor. At the King's Majesty's Castle of Wrissel, 16th Dec. 1547.

"Your Grace's most humbly, with his Service,

"MATTHEW LENNOX."

III.

ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH.

As some obscurity hangs over the arrival of the French auxiliaries in Scotland, it will be useful to fix precisely the dates, which are not very clearly given either by Keith or by Robertson. The following abstract of a letter from Sir R. Bulmer to the Protector, marks the arrival of the first band of French, chiefly officers, to have been on the 25th December, 1547.

SIR RALPH BULMER TO THE PROTECTOR.

He sends his Grace these news, which had been brought by the Lord of Cessford. "Christmas-day last past, two French ships came to Dumbarton—there landed with fifty French captains—bringing money to wage ten thousand Scots for a year, which money is sent by the Bishop of Rome. There came *three* of the chief captains to Stirling, to the Queen and the Lords, on St. Stephen's day at night—apparelled all in white satin, and told the Queen and the Council the cause of their coming. They showed her there was six thousand Frenchmen on the sea for Scotland, waiting a wind. As soon as the ten thousand Scots are mustered, and these six thousand are landed, *then* a post is to be sent to the French King, who had an army in readiness to land in England, and a fleet of ships is also promised by Denmark, but this not so certain." The letter concludes by advising his Grace to grant power to the Lord of Cessford, to collect the rents Mernis, for two reasons. 1st. It will be most for the King's benefit. 2nd. It will set Buccleugh

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 30th Dec. 1547. Sir Ralph Bulmer to the Protector.

and Cessford at variance, which were a good policy, for *altho' Buccleugh had taken assurance, yet he was playing a double part*, assuring the Queen and Governor that he is yet a true Scotsman."[1]

We learn by a letter from Lord Wharton to Somerset, MS. State Paper Office, 1st January, 1547-8, that Monsieur de la Chapelle, was the leader of these Frenchmen, which proves the accuracy of De Thou, Book v. c. 15.—Vol. 1st. p. 189. Bulkely edit.

By another letter from Lord Grey to the Protector, dated at Berwick, June 17, 1548 [MS. State Paper Office], it appears that the second arrival of auxiliaries, conducted by Monsieur D'Essé, must have been June 15th or 16th, 1548. This was the great force, including Suisses and Almains, as well as French. Lord Grey diminishes their number to twelve hundred men at arms, and eight hundred light-horse-men; but they were at the least six thousand strong, as is proved by a letter, State Paper Office, Lord Wharton to the Protector, dated 14th July, 1548.

IV.

Embarkation of the young Queen for France.

History, p. 53.

Neither Keith, p. 55, nor Chalmers, p. 10, are able to fix the exact time of the young Queen's sailing for France. A letter, in the State Paper Office, from Lord Grey to the Protector, which is dated August 7th, 1548, mentions, that he is informed the young Queen is not yet transported, but lieth in a galley accompanied with other galleys, and four or five ships, a little from Dumbarton, where he adds, she undoubtedly was *yesterday*, at twelve of the clock at noon. And he continues "the Lady Fleming, her mistress, making request to the captain of the galley, whose name is *Wallegagno* (Villegaignon), to have her on land to repose her, because she hath been long on the sea: *He answered, she should not come on land, but rather go into France, or else drown by the way.*" Grey advises the Protector to fit out some ships that way, with the hope of meeting her.

In the Egerton collection of MSS. No. 2, preserved in the British Museum, the contents of which are inaccessible to the public, from the want of catalogues, there is a volume of tran-

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 30th Dec. 1547. Sir R. Bulmer to the Protector.

scripts, from original letters, during the reign of Henry the 2nd, of France. My attention was directed to it by my learned friend, Mr. Holmes, of the British Museum, who pointed out the following passages. In the first of them, Henry the II. writing to Monsieur de Humyeres, the governor of his children, who were then brought up at the Palace of St. Germain en Laye—informs him (on the 27th July, 1548) that the little Queen of Scotland may soon be expected there, to be educated with the Dauphin and his other children.

" Mais pour cela je ne veulx que vous bougez avec mes enfans, attendu maintenant que ma fille la petite Royne d'Escosse y pourra lors ou plustot arriver pour y estre nourrie avec eulx.

" 27th July, 1548."

In another letter from the King to Monsieur de Humyeres, he sends the Dauphin and the young Queen of Scots, a dancing master, Paul de Rege, to whom he gives a high character. The letter is dated 10th January, 1549.

Mon Cousin. Pour ce que Paule de Rege present porteur est fort bien balladin, et à ce que j'en y peu coagnoistre honneste et bien conditionnée, j'ay advisé de le donner à mons filz le Dauphin pour luy monster à baller, et pareillment à ma fille la Royne d'Escosse et aux jeunes gentilhommes et damoiselles estant à leur service, et de mes autres enfans; " à ceste cause vous le presenterez à mon filz, et le ferez loger et manger avec ses autres officiers."

V.

Ferocity of the War.

The War assumed a character of more than common ferocity.

History p. 55.

In addition to what is mentioned in the text, this fact is strikingly illustrated by a paper [MS. State Paper Office, 19th May, 1549] entitled Memorial (it should rather be scroll of a memorial) for Edward Atkinson, alias Bluemantle, sent by the Protector to the Governor of Scotland. This document states, that after having obtained audience, the said Bluemantle, putting on his coat of arms, and making reverence unto him, (the Governor) without any other saluta-

tion, shall boldly say as ensueth. The substance is, that understanding that sundry the King's Majesty's, *his Grace's Sovereign Lord's subjects and servants, born within the realm of Scotland,* have now a good while, and yet do, according to their bounden duty, serve his Majesty in these wars; the Governor had published a proclamation, commanding, that if any Scotsmen so serving, shall be taken in the field bearing arms against him, they shall not be used as prisoners, but immediately put to death as rebels. Bluemantle is enjoined to demand this proclamation to be immediately recalled, otherwise all Scottish prisoners, of whatever rank they be, shall be put to death as soon as they are taken." This paper is followed by a "Minute of a Proclamation for not taking of Scottishmen—dated 22nd May, 1549." It commences thus—"Whereas the Earl of Arran, *pretending himself to be Governor of Scotland,*" and goes on to speak of the people of Scotland not acknowledging, or giving obedience to "their *superior and Sovereign Lord, the King's Majesty of England,* in consequence of which the countrys are at war, and Scotland grievously afflicted with slaughter and devastation, as with a just plague of God." It then proceeds thus—"Not content with all this, the Governor hath devised a most cruel, unnatural, and deadly proclamation, that every Scotsman serving the King of England, should be slain as soon as taken, by means of which some of his Majesty's subjects, Scotsmen born, have been put to open and cruel death." Therefore it continues, "that cruelty may be punished, and repelled with cruelty," he, the Protector, straightly commands all his Highness's wardens, deputy-wardens, officers, &c., that they do not from henceforth take any Scotsman serving against *his Highness in the field, but do kill the same out of hand without ransoming them,* until the Governor Arran have revoked his proclamation, under penalty of death, if this is disobeyed.

VI.

Arrival of the Queen Dowager in France.

History, pp. 60, 61.

The exact date of this Princes's arrival in France, has not been given by any of our Historians.

In an original letter of Anne de Montmorency, constable of

France, to Mr. de Bassefontaine, Ambassador to the Queen of Hungary, (for the knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. Holmes, of the British Museum,) there is the following notice of the arrival of the Queen Dowager in France. The letter is in the British Museum. Additional MSS. 10,012, and is dated 27th September, 1550.

"Je vous advise que la Royne d'Escosse est puis trois ou quatre jours arrivée au Havre de Grace en bonne sante et tresbonne compagnie; elle fit hier son entrée à Rouen. En dimanche prochain viendra trouver le Roy à l'Abbaye de bonnes nouvelles, où il va demain coucher poure faire sa Feste St. Michael; apres que les seigneurs l'aura venu et parlé à elle, on vous fera entendre (ce que) sera requis sur les propos qui ont este entamez touchant la fait d'Escosse."

VII.

Sir John Mason's Correspondence.

Some interesting particulars, illustrating the intrigues of the Queen Dowager, in France, a subject hitherto slightly passed over by our Historians, may be derived from a volume in the State Paper Office, containing the correspondence of Sir John Mason, the English Ambassador at the Court of France. Its authenticity is unquestionable, as it is Sir John's own Letter Book.

"We learn, by a letter from Mason to the Privy Council, dated Rouen, 6th October [Correspondence, p. 118], that he had that day visited the Queen Dowager of Scotland, who arrived there on the 25th of September, accompanied by a numerous train of Scottish gentlemen, and was received with much honour."

On the 19th of the same month and year, (1550) Mason has this passage in a letter to the Privy Council, dated Dieppe.

"Since their coming the principal of the Scots have visited me except the Earl of Huntly and George Douglas. They lamented, their estate, and showed why we (the English) had not our desire, (the King's marriage to Queen Mary) which was 'the rude handling of them at all times, and especially in the notable slaughter made upon them at the great battle (Pinky).' I gave ear unto them as unto Scots, told them they had refused a good offer, and must drink as

they had brewed. That they had lively plaid the part of the horse in Aesop, who sought the help of man against the hart. The Earl of Glencairn much complaineth of the detaining of his two sons, his father being dead, for whom they were pledges, but specially of the ill-handling of them by the Archbishop, who, he saith, kept them two years in his kitchen."

I shall subjoin a few brief abstracts of some important letters, addressed by the same Ambassador to the Privy Council. They throw considerable light on the relative politics of France, England, and Scotland, at this period.

In a letter dated Blois, 4th December, 1550, he remarks that "the Scots bear a fell rout in this Court, and be much made of, of all estates. They say we shall not have one foot of ground in Scotland peaceably, more than we had before the wars, but they will have the thanks for it all together, if we like, and not forego it by piece meal. *Ireland* is ready to revolt and deliver themselves to a new master on a moment's warning.

In a subsequent letter, dated Blois, 8th Feb. 1550-1, he states, that the blind Scot, named the Bishop of Armagh, who had lately been in Ireland with commission to make a stir among the people, passed five or six days ago by this Court, and has been much made of. He is departed to Rome.

Again on the 23rd Feb. 1550-1, writing to the Council, he informs them, that there were rumours of war secretly intended by France against England. England had refused a passport to the Master of Maxwell, at which the French King, was much incensed. Exclaiming, "Vraiment voyez ci une pauvre vengeance." "There is in these men no love." The Queen of Scots and her house beareth in this Court the whole swing. * * * The Queen Dowager desireth the subversion of England "whose service in Scotland is so highly taken here, as she is in this Court made a Goddess." These men the French, are in great readiness for the wars.[2]

In a letter of the Lords of the Privy Council to Mason, dated at

[1] Mason to the Privy Council, 4th Dec. 1550. Blois.

[2] Ibid. p. 250. Lords of P. C. to Mason, 28th. Jan. 1550, Greenwich. Ibid. p. 251.

[3] Sir J. M. to P. C. Blois, 26th Feb. 1550-1.

Greenwich, the 28th of Jan. 1550, it appears that a spy had been sent, whom Balnevis, the Scot, recommended as proper to be trusted, and who would take care to bring the English Ambassador as much intelligence as the Scots have. In Sir John Mason's answer to the Privy Council, dated Blois, 26th Feb. 1550-1, he informs them that this bearer arrived on the 24th Feb., but dared not tarry, as he found himself likely to be waylaid. He, however, had one who would fill his place, viz. the lord Grange. "I talked with him," says Mason, "of the Queen's departing, and of the men-of-war she was said to have with her." He said, "this would not take any effect this year. He (Grange) promised to communicate every thing he could learn to the English Ambassador, who when he speaks of him, is to call him Corax." By a letter of Mason to the Privy Council, 23rd March, 1550-1, dated at Blois, it appears, that the Vidame of Chartres was at that time in Edinburgh, on a mission from France. In another letter of the 18th April, 1551, from the same to the same, it is stated, that one George Paris had arrived from Ireland. "He brags much," says Mason, "associates with the Scots, and has offers from the Irish to league with France, and throw off England. He hopes to have the Dauphin shortly proclaimed King of Scotland and Ireland. It is said they are to have no open assistance from France, but that the Queen of Scotland laboureth to have them holpen underhand by means of the Earl of Argile and James Kennalt (Maconnell). He goes on to observe, that John a Barton had arrived from Scotland at the French Court, and brought word that the Governor (Arran) had a great party in his favour to keep him in his place till they should have a King. This, he adds, was ill-taken by the Queen Dowager, who was determined either to have the government herself, or to set a Frenchman of her House in it. Corax (Grange) thinks if the meeting of the Commissioners for the borders goes on smoothly; all things will be quiet for this year.

The Earl of Huntly had obtained one part of his suit from the Queen of Scots, which was, that when she came of age, he should have the Earldom of Murray. This King (the King of France) hath bound himself by writing thereunto, but the custody of the bond is to be in the hands of the Dowager. All the Scots are against him in this, especially Sutherland and Cassillis. It

will breed a great stab amongst them. "The Queen is all for herself and for a few other friends, whose partiality showed more to some than others maketh a great heartburning." Lord Maxwell at his departing, had a chain of five hundred crowns; Drumlaurich had nothing, and used rude speech to the Queen.

"The Scottish Queen's shipping is hasted very much. It is thought she shall embark a month sooner than she intended. The Lady Fleming departed hence, with child by this King.[1] And it is thought that immediately upon the arrival of the Dowager in Scotland, she will come again to fetch another. If she so do, here is like to be a combat, being the heartburning already very great. The old worn pelf,[2] fearing thereby to lose some part of her credit, who presently reigneth alone, and governeth without empeasche."

We learn something of the French intrigues in Ireland, by a letter of Mason to the Privy Council, dated at Amboise, 22nd April, 1551.

He states, that a gentleman who had come from Ireland with George Paris, was named Cormac Ochonor, eldest of nine brothers who are alive. He braggeth his father hath been the great worker of all this rebellion; he never would submit to England, although he hath a house within a stone's cast of the English pale. Last Saturday he exhibited to the constable a paper, showing what force both horse and foot his father could bring into the field; asked for prompt assistance, as it was by the French intrigues this rebellion had wholly been stirred up. He begged for five thousand men at the French King's charges. He was paid with fair words. "*The Dowager of Scotland would fain have them holpen*, and I am assuredly informed the Vidame is nothing behind them, who, since his coming hither hath been very highly and friendly entertained by the King." He hath had many secret conferences with the King, the Dowager, and the Constable. "The Vidame had come from a mission into Scotland." By another letter, dated

[1] This was, I suspect, the Dowager Lady Fleming, a daughter of James IV. by the Countess of Bothwell.—Douglas Peerage, p. 698.

[2] The "old pelf was the King's mistress Diana of Poictiers," a woman at this time of fifty-three years.—Mezeray, p. 623.

26th April, 1551, it appears "that the Scottish Queen's departure * * * was again delayed, and some thought the occasion thereof was some fancy the French King hath to some of her train."[1]

In his next letter, 29th April, 1551, at Amboise, Sir John Mason informed the English Privy Council, that he had made diligent search as to the news brought by a post from Scotland. "I have learned," says he, "that there is come to light a practice (or at the least a great suspicion thereof) for the poisoning of the young Queen. He that took the matter upon him is an archer of the guard, who is escaped into Ireland. There is as much diligence made as can be devised for the getting of him from thence, and as they say here, he is already stayed to be sent back again to Scotland, and so into France. The old Queen is fallen suddenly sick upon the opening of this news unto her. By whose means this thing should principally be moved, I cannot yet understand, but it is thought that it was devised by some miscontented Scots. This is told me for a great secrecy, whether it be true or not, your Ladyship may know farther with time. * * The said post hath brought word, that the Lady Fleming is brought to bed of a man child, wherat our women do not much rejoice."[2]

On the 10th of May, 1551, Sir John Mason writing from Court to the English Privy Council, observes, "There hath been lately a great consultation touching the marriage of the Dolphin to the Scottish Queen, which the Constable and the Chancellor would in any case to be deferred." "The Dowager of Scotland maketh all at this Court weary from the high to the low, such an importunate beggar is she for herself. The King would fain be rid of her, and she as she pretendeth would fain be gone. Marry, the hucking is about many matters, the King being desirous she should depart, upon promise of the sending thereof to her, and she desiring to have the same with her. The sums are two hundred thousand franks of old debts, which is in a manner all paid; and besides that, fifty thousand franks more, partly for the payment of other pensions accorded among the Scots, and partly to remain at

[1] Mason to the Privy Council, 26th April, 1551.—Amboise.

[2] Same to same, p. 309, May 10th 1551.—From Court.

her disposition as she shall see cause, and fifty thousand for her own pension for that year. Talking yesterday with the Receiver General of Bretagne, of Scottish matters, he told me, wishing that Scotland were in a fish-pool, that out of his receipt and of the receipt of Guienne, there had been sent thither since the beginning of the wars, nineteen hundred thousand franks, how much had passed otherwise he knew not." p. 312. On the 19th May Mason alludes to the French intrigues in Ireland. * * "I saw," says he, "yesterday, a letter sent from Rome to an Italian in this Court, wherein was written, that the Bishop of Armachan, as he calleth himself, which is the blind Scot that lately passed this way, is thoroughly and very well despatched, touching the matters of Ireland." It appears by a subsequent letter of June 11th, that the "blind Scot," the Bishop of Armagh, had departed with his dispatch towards Ireland. The last letter in this valuable volume of Sir John Mason's Correspondence, is dated July 29, 1551.

Sir William Pickering, and soon after him Sir Nicholas Wotton, succeeded Mason as Ambassadors at the French Court, and their letters which are preserved in the French Correspondence of the State Paper Office, vol. vi., contain many interesting illustrations, not only of the politics of France and England, but of the condition of Scotland and of Ireland during the last years of Edward and the commencement of the reign of Mary. Indeed, I might rather say, they illustrate the history of Europe; for it was the business of the English Ambassador at the Court of France, to have his agents or spies in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, and to transmit to the Sovereign, the Prime Minister, and the Privy Council of England, reports of all the information which he received.

Mary of Guise's interview with Edward the Sixth took place on the 4th of Nov. 1551, and she appears to have returned to Scotland about the 24th of the same month, as in the books of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, under the date 21st Nov. 1551, we find an order directed to Sir Andrew Ker, of Littledean, causing him to send letters of Proclamation to Jedburgh, Selkirk, Dunse, &c., charging the Lords, Lairds, and other Gentlemen to meet the Queen at our Lady Kirk, of Steil, in their most honest manner, on the 24th November.

In a letter dated Sept. 19th, 1552, preserved in the French Cor-

respondence, we find a paper, entitled Secret Information of Thomas Stukely, which details "a plan of the French King for the conquest of England."—First, he would order that the Scots should enter into Northumberland with all their power; then he himself would come to Falmouth, and the Duke of Guise with another army to land at Dartmouth. He would proclaim and restore the old mass, putting the people to their full liberty as he doth in Scotland.

In a letter from Sir N. Wotton to the Privy Council, dated at Melun, 28th Dec. 1553, he informs them, that the report of the Queen of England's marriage with the Prince of Spain, made the French begin to speak of war with England, and he adds, that the French King had already despatched Monsieur D'Oysel with the same Commission that he had on his former mission, and that he meant to send after him the Vidame of Chartres with a certain number of soldiers.

We find by a letter of Wotton's to the Council, Melun, Jan. 9, 1553-4, that the Queen of Scots now kept her table and lodging apart, to show that she had come to her years to have the whole rule in her own hands. I shall conclude these short notices of the valuable matter which may be found in the French Correspondence of the State Paper Office, by the following letter of Wotton to the Lord Paget, Privy Seal, and Sir William Petre, Knight, Principal Secretary. It is dated 1st March, 1556-7, and is written wholly in cipher, but fortunately the contemporary decipher accompanies it.

"My duty remembered to your Honours. I have heretofore certified the Queen's Majesty, what good will this bearer Kirkaudrie (Kircaldy) seemed to bear to her Majesty, and to the realm of England, and how little he is contented with the present state of Scotland, and how desirous he is to see it delivered from the yoke of the Frenchmen, and restored to their former liberty; and also what offers he hath divers times made to serve the Queen's Majesty, the best he could. Whereupon, altho' I have had no answer, yet forasmuch as he returneth now into Scotland, and thereby hath occasion to pass thro' England, I advised him to do that thing which I perceived he was before of himself minded to do, that is to say, to visit you by the way, thereby you may, by communication with him, the

better understand his mind * * and in case you like him, appoint him how he is to serve. Marry, this he earnestly requireth, that in case the Queen's Highness shall think him mete to do her Majesty's service, that yet, nevertheless, his matters may pass only thro' your hands, for he feareth greatly, that all the Council being privy to it, it were not easy to be kept secret, thereby he should stand in danger of his life.

"Now in case you should ask me what I think of him, first I must say that I have had no acquaintance with him, but sith my coming hither. Marry, by the communication I have had with him now and then here, either he must be a very great and crafty dissembler, or else he beareth no good will at all to the Frenchmen, and next unto his own country he beareth a good mind to England.

"Marry, what service he shall be able to do now, he intending to continue in Scotland, your wisdoms can better consider than I. For because, I trust he will declare at length unto you of the return of his father, and of Balnevis into Scotland, and for what purpose it is thought they are revoked, and also that Melvin, who accused the Bishop of Durham, is come hither, recommended to the French King by the Dowager of Scotland's letters, and of th' arrival of the four Scottish bands of horsemen, and of a plott (plan) of Berwick, which the French King hath, howsomever he came by it—and how these men are nothing sorry for the Earl of Douglas's death, and of a Scottish physitian married in London, named Durham, as I remember, who is a spy for the French King and the Dowager of Scotland, and hath a pension of her, three hundred crowns by the year, therefore, and how ill the Bishop of St. Andrew's can away with the rule of the Frenchmen in Scotland, and also of th' arrival of one of the Landgrave of Hesse's sons into the court here, and how he is made of, and how sorry they were here for Marquis Albert's death, and generally of such news as are spoken of here in the court. I shall therefore the less need to unite them at this time, but making here an end, &c. &c.

"Paris 1st March, 1556-7."

In the following passage, which occurs in a letter of Wotton to the Queen, I find the first notice of the afterwards active and intriguing Randolph.

"Postscripta. I have received," says he "a letter from a scholar of

Paris, named Thomas Randall, who writeth thus: 'Thomas Stafford took his ship on Easter-day, at night. There are gone with him more French than of our nation. He went in the Flower de Luce, whereof is captain John Rybande, and another ship with him laden with artillery.' Thus far writeth the said Randall. * * The voice is at Dieppe, that they go into Scotland, which I believe not well."

We see here how soon Randolph began to show his talents as a diplomatic spy.

VIII.

Cardan and the Bishop of St. Andrew's.

History, p. 66.

This celebrated and eccentric physician, who was brought to Scotland to cure the Scottish primate, gives us a few particulars of his journey, in his amusing work—"De Vita Propria." Unfortunately he is very brief, and more communicative on the extent of his fees, than the state of the country. He calls the primate Amulthon (Hamilton), and declares that after his case (a kind of periodic asthma) had defied the skill of the physicians of the Emperor, and the French King, he made the Bishop smack whole in twenty-four hours. "Intra xxiv. horas nullo vel plane levi remedio liberabatur." He came to Edinburgh on the 3rd of June, and remained till the 13th of September. He returned to Italy January, 1523.

His mode of cure, as described by Randolph in the following extract from one of his letters to Cecil [15th January, 1561-2, MS. State Paper Office], was not quite so simple as Cardan himself would have us believe. He sinks the "young whelps, and hanging the poor prelate by the heels."

"I will be bold," says Randolph, "to trouble your Honour a little with a merry tale. Cardanus, the Italian, took upon him the cure of the Bishop of St. Andrew's, in a disease that to all other men was judged desperate and incurable. He practised upon him divers foreign inventions: he hung him certain hours in the day by the heels, to cause him to avoid at the mouth that the other ways nature could not expel: he fed him many days with young whelps: he used him sometimes with extreme heats, and as many days with extreme colds. Before his departure, he roundeth for the space of six days, every

day certain unknown words in his ears, and never used other medicine after. It is said that at that time he did put a devil within him, for that since that he hath been ever the better, and that this devil was given him on credit but for nine years, so that now the time is near expired, that either he must go to hell with his devil, or fall again into his old mischief, to poison the whole country with his false practices."

IX.

Power and License of the Nobles in Scotland.

History, p. 78.

In England, during the reigns of Henry the VIII, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, the power of the Sovereign over the nobles, and the influence of the wishes of the Crown, was infinitely greater than in Scotland during the same period. In Scotland the nobles lived in what Sir Ralph Saddler denominates in his despatches, "a beastly liberty." They reasoned and acted for themselves, they looked to the course which they thought promised best for the country, or for their own interest; and the idea of following this, in opposition to the commands of the Crown, was familiar to them; nay, not only this, but they often contemplated the idea of compelling the Sovereign to follow their wishes. The different feelings of the nobles in the two countries are strongly marked in the following letter of Mr. Thomas Martyn to Mary, Queen of England, dated at Carlisle, 11th June. 1557. [MS. State Paper Office.]

After alluding to their conferences on the borders, he goes on to state a conversation between the Earls of Westmoreland and Cassillis, in these terms:—"My Lord of W. sayeth to th' Erle of Cassillis in this wise: My Lord, I think it but folly for us to treat *now* together, we having broken with France, and ye being French for your lives: Nay, by the messe, quoth the Earl of Cassillis, I am no more French than you are a Spaniard: Marry, quoth my Lord of Westmoreland, as long as God shall preserve my master and mistress together, I am, and shall be a Spaniard, to the utmost of my power: By God, quoth the Earl of Cassillis, so shall not I be French: And I told ye once in my Lord, your father's, house, in King Henry the VIII. his time, that we would dye, every mother's

son of us, rather than be subjects until England; even the like will ye find us to keep with France; and I may tell you there are seven hundred Gascons arrived at Dumbryton, more than we will be known to you of; which were sent to serve in the borders here, but we would not let them pass the river, and they being allowed but threepence a day, have so scattered abroad, that three hundred of them be licked up by the way, sic (such) is the favor that our men beareth unto the Frenchmen here. My Lord of Durham telleth me that the Bishop of Orkney ministered talk unto him to this effect, wishing in any wise restitution to be made of both parties equally, whereby the amity might be preserved betwixt us, notwithstanding the French. Mr. Makgill told Mr. Henmar there was no cause why they should break with us, though we broke with France, for the Emperor's wars with the French empeacheth not our legal amity with the Emperor. Likewise Mr. Carnegy gave me his faith as a christian man, and honour of a Scottish knight, that his mistress meant the like, marry, for saving his oath, he added at th' end, as far as we yet ken."

X.

Coalition between the Lord James and the Queen Dowager.

Some new particulars regarding this coalition mentioned in the text (History, p. 79), may be gathered from a letter of Lord Wharton to the Lords of the Council, [MS. State Paper Office, 13th November, 1557]. It gives an account of a secret meeting which he had with William Kirkaldy, of Grange.

He, (says Lord Wharton alluding to Kirkaldy,) saith, "that the Prior of St. Andrew's, who is accounted the wisest of the late King's base sons, and one of the Council of Scotland, the Earl of Glencairn, and the Bishop of Caithness, did agree to write the letters in the Pacquet, and that the Dowager is of Council, and consenting therewith, and that she wrote her letters to Mr. Dosell, to cause Kirkaldy make devise to send the letters to me, that they might pass in haste—and that the Dowager's letter did meet Dosell beside Dunbar, towards Edinburgh, the 13th of this month. Dosell returned (sent back) Kirkaldy upon the sight of the Dowager's letter, with the pacquet forthwith, who saith to

me, it is the Queen and Dosell's device, and Dosell very earnest therewith, with many words that he hath given to Kirkaldy of the great displeasure that the Queen and Dosell beareth, especially against the Duke Chattelherault and the Earl of Huntly, and against others whom Dosell nameth, the feeble and false noblemen of Scotland. Amongst others, he said, when their army retired, and their ordnance was to be carried on the water, Dosell sent word to the Duke that he would see the ordnance returned over the water again, and that it might be put in safety. The messengers said to the Duke that Dosell was angry with their retire, and breach of their promise, and also not regarding the safety of their ordnance. The Duke's answer was, let Monsieur Dosell gang by his mind, an he will, for as we, the noblemen of Scotland, have determined and written to the Queen, so will we do, and let him look to his own charge, and so was Dosell left. Upon which words, and their manner of dealing, Dosell will seek their displeasure by all the ways and means he can, and so will the Dowager do also as Kirkaldy saith.

"In talk with him, I said it was a great matter to enterprise, to bring into that realm my Lady Margaret Lennox, and my Lord, her husband—that it required power of noblemen, with others, and houses of strength. He said, the coming of my Lady to the Dowager with their friends there, would order that matter; and said, they might first have the Castel of Tantallon, which is in the keeping of the Laird of Craigmillar, and at the Dowager's order. He speaketh liberally that they would have many friends, and also have on their side the authority that now is. This matter, as I think in my poor opinion, may be wrought for my Lady Margaret and my Lord of Lennox, and to continue the displeasure, nowstanding amongst the greatest of that realm."

Kirkaldy goes on to propose a truce, as introductory to a peace, Wharton answered the Scots only pretended an anxiety for a truce when it suited themselves, and broke it when they pleased; but should it be entertained, whom would he propose to send? Kirkaldy said, the Lord Seaton, Captain Sarlabarosse, who had been one before, the Laird of Craigmillar, and the young Laird of Lethington, or two of them. These are the Dowager's, and great with her. He said Scotland would agree to an abstinence for twenty days or for two months, but they must have a licence for an especial man to pass

through England, and communicate with the French King. Wharton asked the news. He said on Sunday last, 7th November, arrived a ship at Leith, with letters and money from the French King. He had seen a letter from the French King to Dosell, in which it was said he should have all his desires of men and money. That four ensignes, twelve hundred foot, and two hundred horse, were dispatched to come into Scotland by the West Seas, and daily looked for.

It is not unimportant to notice (on account of the light it throws on the character of the Lord James, afterwards the Regent Murray) that we here find him, Kirkaldy of Grange, Glencairn, and the Bishop of Caithness, acting with the Queen Dowager against Huntly, Chastelherault, and Argile. We find them receiving money from the French King, and stipulating for the presence of a French army in Scotland. Kirkaldy has generally been represented as a mirror of chivalry. Consistency certainly was not his fort. In a letter of Wotton (see Supra, p. 442), dated 1st March, 1556-7, he is determined on putting down all French influence in Scotland, here we find him, nine months after, inviting a French army into that country, and subsequently, in 1559, he returned to his first opinion. [See this Vol. p. 129.]

XI.

Letters and Papers of Knox.

Not a few original letters of Knox are preserved in the State Paper Office, besides various public papers in his hand-writing, and evidently his composition. Of these, some appear in his history, but often very incorrectly printed, many words being altered, and parts entirely omitted. Others are to be found in the MS. Calderwood, in the British Museum. The letter quoted p. 137, and addressed to Percy, dated 1st July, 1559, which has not been printed commences thus:—

"The mighty comfort of the Holy Ghost for salutation. Right Honourable, having the opportunity of this bearer unsuspect, I thought good to require of you such friendship, as that from time to time conference and knowledge might be betwixt us; I mean not myself and you, but betwixt the faithful of both these realms,

to the end that inconveniences pretended against both, may by God's grace and mighty power be avoided. Your faithful friend, Mr. Kirkaldy, hath reported to me your gentle behaviour and faithful fidelity in all things lawful, honest, and godly. Continue this, and God by you, shall work more than now appeareth." Then follows the sentence quoted in this volume, p. 137, after which he concludes in these words—" but all this had I rather communicate face to face, than commit to paper and ink. This other letter I have direct to Mr. Secretary, which, if your honour will cause to be delivered, I suppose you shall not offend him. Other things I have, which now I cannot write for continual trouble hanging on my wicked carcase, by reason of this tumult raised against Christ Jesus in his (infancy). I pray you seek to know the mind of the Queen, and of the Council, touching our support if we be pursued by an army of Frenchmen, and let me be assured by advertisement reasonably. And thus committing you to the protection of the Omnipotent, I most heartily desire you to approve my love—enterprise —and enterprise not altogether without deliberation, as the troubles of these times do suffer.

" From Edinburgh, the 1st of July, 1559,

" Your's to command in Godliness,

" JOHN KNOX."

Knox's letter to Cecil, dated 12th July, 1559, is preserved in the State Paper Office in the original. It enclosed his celebrated apology to Elizabeth, and has been printed incorrectly and in a garbled state in his History p. 224. The postscript of the same letter, which has not been printed, is as follows:—

" After the scribbling of these former lines, came Mr. Whitlaw, of whom, after conference, I understood the match in which I have laboured ever since the death of King Edward, now to be opened unto you—God grant you and others wisdom with humility. Immediately after Mr. Whitlaw, came a servant from Sir Harry Percy to Mr. Kirkaldy, who, departing from us at Edinburgh to speak, the said Sir Harry brought news to the hearts of all joyful, whensoever they shall be divulgat. It was thought expedient to communicate the matter only with those that are strongest, till farther knowledge of the Queen's Majesty's good mind towards this

action. We doubt not the good mind of the whole congregation, which is great, as I doubt not but by others you will understand, but it is not thought expedient that so weighty a matter be untimeously disclosed. True and faithful preachers in the north parts cannot but greatly advance this cause. If a learned and godly man might be appointed to Berwick, with license also to preach within Scotland, I doubt not, but to obtain unto him the hands of the most part of the gentlemen of the east borders. Advert one thing, sir, that if the hearts of the Borderers of both parts can be united together in God's fear, our victory shall be easy. The fear of no man, I trust, this day to cause any of those that have professed themselves enemies to superstition within Scotland, to lift their hand against England, so long as it will abide in the purity of Christ's doctrine. Continual labours oppressing me, (most unable for the same) I am compelled to end with imperfection. The source of all wisdom rule your heart to the end.

"So much I reverence your judgment, that I will ye first see my letter, or ye deliver it, and therefore I send it open. Read and present it if ye think meet."

At the same time that the Lords of the Congregation addressed to Cecil the letter mentioned in the text, p. 142, as written and composed by Knox, the same indefatigable man prepared for them a letter to the Queen. It is dated Edinburgh, 19th July, 1559, and as it has never been printed, I subjoin it here from the original, in the State Paper Office, and in Knox's hand writing, and signed by the principal leaders of the Congregation.

Lords of the Congregation to Queen Elizabeth.

"Right mighty, right high, and right excellent Princess, with our most humill commendations unto your Majesty. Albeit that heretofore divers men have wished, and as occasion hath offered, prudent men have devised, a perpetual amity betwixt the inhabitants of these our two realms, and yet that no good success hath to this day ensued of such travel and labours taken, yet cannot we, the professors of Christ Jesus in this realm of Scotland, cease to be suitors unto your Grace, and unto your Grace's well advised Council, to have eye to this our present estate. We have enterprised to enter

in battle against the devil, against idolatry, and against that sort of men, who, before abusing, as well us as our Princes, made us enemies to our friends, and the maintainers of strangers, of whom we now look (for) nothing but utter subversion of our commonwealth. If in this battle we shall be overthrown, (as that we stand in great danger as well by domestical enemies, as by the great preparation which we hear to be sent against us by France) we fear that our ruin shall be but an increase to a greater cruelty. And therefore we are compelled to seek remedy against such tyranny, by all such lawful means as God shall offer. And knowing your Grace to have enterprised like reformation of religion, we could not cease to require and crave of your Grace, of your Council, subjects, and realm, such support in this our present danger, as may to us be comfortable, and may declare your Grace and Council unfeignedly to thrust (thirst) the advancement of Christ Jesus, (and) of his glorious gospel: and whatsoever your Grace and Council can prudently devise, and reasonably require of us again for a perpetual amity to stand betwixt the two realms, shall, upon our parts, neither be denied, neither (God willing) in any point be violated, as at more length we have declared in a letter written to your Majesty's secretary, Mr. Cecill.

"Right mighty, right high, and right excellent Princess, we pray Almighty God to have your Grace in his eternal tuition, and to grant you prosperous success in all your godly proceedings, to the glory of his name, and to the comfort of all those which earnestly thrust the increase of the kingdom of Christ Jesus.

"From Edinburgh, the 19th of July,

"By your Grace's most humble and faithful Friends,

"Archd. Ergyll.
"Alexander Glencairn.
"James Sanctandros.
"Patrick Ruthven.
"Robert Boyd.
"Andro Ochiltre."

The Proclamation, published by the Congregation on the 25th July, 1559, alluded to in this volume, p. 145, is an important document, and has never been printed, It is as follows:—

"Apud Edinburgh, 25th July, Anno 1559.

"Forasmuch as the Lords of Congregation and Secret Council

that has remained in this town (this sum time) bigane, are now to depart forth of the same, upon compromitt made betwixt them, and the Lords sent from the Queen's Grace Regent, containing these heads. That no idolatry shall be erected where it is already suppressed. And that no member of the Congregation shall be troubled for religion, or any other cause dependant thereupon in body, lands, or goods, and that their ministers shall have full liberty not only to preach, but also to ministrate the sacraments, publickly and privately at they think good, without trouble or impediment to be made to them by the Queen, or any other, openly or quietly. And also that no band or bands of men of war, French, Scots, or others, shall be laid, nor remain within the town of Edinburgh. Therefore the said Lords of Congregation has thought good to notify the said, by this present proclamation, to all whom effeirs, and especially to their brethren of the Congregation now within this town, certifiand them, and promising faithfully if any of the forsaid points be violated or broken, that the said Lords of the Congregation will in that case fortify, concur, and assist with their whole power and substance, as they have done in times bygane, to the reformation thereof, supporting of their brethren, relieving of every member of the true Congregation that shall be open to be invaded or molested. And to the furthering of God's glory upon their honours, and as they will answer therefore in presence of Eternal God.

"Proclaimed by voice of trumpet at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, the day aforesaid."[1]

Not only did the Lords of the Congregation, as stated in this volume, (p. 153) address their remonstrances to Cecil, but Knox directed to the same minister a vigorous letter, dated at St. Andrew's, 15th August, 1559. It is garbled, and changed in his History, but the passages I have given in this volume, pp. 158, 159, 160, are taken from the original in the State Paper Office. On the 23rd of August, 1559, he addressed the following letter to Sir James Crofts, under the fictitious name of John Sinclear. It is preserved in the State Paper Office, and endorsed in Cecil's hand writing "Mr. Knox."

"Immediately upon the receipt of your letters right worshipful,

[1] This Paper which is in the St. P. Off. is endorsed in Cecil's hand, 25th July, apud Edinburgh. Proclamation of the Congregation.

I despatched one to the Lords, from whom I doubt not ye shall receive answer according to your desire, with convenient expedition. The Queen Regent here, as before I have written unto you, is marvellous busy in assembling all that she can. She hath addressed ordinance, and other munition to Stirling. She hath corrupted as is suspected, the Lord Erskine, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, and hopeth to receive it, but that will not so much hurt us as our enemies suppose, if all other things be prudently foreseen. She (breatheth) nothing but treason and revolt from her daughter's authority, but men begin to forsee somewhat more than they did not long ago. I wrote unto you before in favors of my (wife), beseeching you yet eftsones, to grant her free and ready passage, for my wicked carcase, now presently labouring in the fevers, needeth her service. I beseech you to grant unto the other man that cometh for my wife, passport to repair towards her for her better conducting. The spirit of all wisdom rule your heart, in the true fear of God to the end. From Londye, in Fife, the 23rd of August, 1559.

"Your's to power,

"JOHN SINCLEAR.

"Read, write, and interpret, all to the best.

"In the midst of the exess (exies).

Jamieson, in his Supplement to his Scottish Dictionary, explains this word *exies*, as meaning hysterics. But John Knox, in a hysteric, is scarcely conceivable—the trembling exies—which means the ague, seems to have been the malady which attacked the reformer.

XII.

SIR RALPH SADLER'S INSTRUCTIONS.

These Instructions, mentioned in this volume, p. 150, are preserved in the State Paper Office, and are endorsed in Cecil's hand, 8th August, 1559, Sir Ralff Saddler. They are important in the strong light they throw upon Elizabeth's policy towards Scotland, and as they have not been printed, I subjoin them here.

"*Memorial of things to be imparted to the Queen's Majesty—The matter of Mr. Sadler.*

"First.—That he understand how the proceedings there differ

from our intelligences here, and thereafter to proceed either the quicklyer or the slower.

"Item.—The principal scope shall be to nourish the faction betwixt the Scots and the French, so that the French may be better occupied with them, and less busy with England. The means whereby may be those as follow, beside such as Mr. Sadler of himself shall think meet. First, to provoke all such as have stirred in the last assembly, to require the Queen Regent to perform her promise, both for restoring of religion, and sending away the Frenchmen, and to persuade them, that altho' they may be reconciled with promises or rewards, yet shall they never be trusted by the Frenchmen.

"Item.—To procure that the Duke may for preservation of the expectant interest which he hath to the crown, if God call the young Queen before she have issue, instantly withstand the governance of that realm by any other than by the blood of Scotland. Like as the King of Spain, being husband to the Queen of England, committed no charge of any manner of office, spiritual or temporal, to any stranger, neither doth he otherwise, nor his father before him, in his countries of Flanders, Brabant, or any other, but suffereth them to be governed wholly by their own nation. In this point, if the Duke mean to preserve his title, ought he to be earnest; for otherwise he may be assured that the French under pretence of subduing of religion, will also subdue the realm, and exstirpe his house.

"Item.—If this may be compassed, then may the nobility of Scotland also require of their Queen, that to avoid such mortal wars and bloodshed as hath been betwixt England and Scotland, there might be a perpetual peace made betwixt both these realms, so as no invasions should be made by either of them by their frontiers, and for the answer of an objection which may be made to disturb this purpose, it may be well said, that altho' the Scottish Queen do falsely pretend title to the crown of England, yet doth she it, but as descended from the blood of England, that is to say, of the body of King Henry the VII, whereunto none of Scotland either doth or can make pretence, and therefore none ought to be abused by any of such persuasion.

"Item. The Duke may pretend as good cause to arrest Monsieur D'Oysell or some other of the French, as for answering for his two

sons, the Earl, and the L. David, as the French have done, in driving away the one and imprisoning the other, being neither of them his subjects nor offenders against him.

"Item. It shall do well to explore the very truth whether the Lord James do mean any enterprize towards the crown of Scotland for himself or no, and if he do, and the Duke be found very cold in his own causes, it shall not be amiss to let the Lord James follow his own device therein, without dissuading or persuading him any thing therein.

"Item. Finally, if he shall find any disposition in any of them to rid away the French there, he may well accelerate the same, with this persuasion, that if they tarry until the aid come out of France, they shall find these to abide longer than they would."

XIII.

Intelligence from Scotland.

The paper quoted in this volume, p. 173, under the title "Intelligence out of Scotland," contains the Journal of one of Cecil's numerous spies.—It is dated and marked with his own hand, and although its information is not implicitly to be relied on, it furnishes us with some curious details.

Intelligence out of Scotland, the 10th Nov. 1559.

First, the Earl Bothwell, the Lord Borthwick, and the Lord Seaton, are with the Queen Dowager, of Scotland, and taketh a plain part with her, and no other noblemen of Scotland. All the rest of the noblemen of Scotland taketh part with the Governor of Scotland.

"The Governor's eldest son, the Earls of Argile, Huntly, Glencairn, the Lord Revill (Ruthven), the Prior of St. Andrew's, the Mr. of Maxwell, the Lord of Livingston (Lethington), are made Regents of the realm of Scotland by the congregation, to have the governance of the same realm until they have a righteous Prince amongst them; the which Regents with their trains came to Edinburgh *the 23d day of October* last with twelve thousand men with them, and sat in Council, and there deprived the said Queen Dowager of all rule in Scotland, for that she did not keep promises with them, nor follow the counsel of the nobility of Scotland, for the weal of the realm and the liberty of the same.

"At the coming of the said Lords to Edinburgh, the Queen, with her party, being three thousand French and four hundred Scots, removed to Leith.

" The last of October last past, in the night, the Earl Bothwell, accompanied with twenty-four men, met the Lord of Ormeston accompanied with six men, about Haddington, and there took from him six thousand crowns sterling, which the said Lord was carrying to the Governor, and hurt the same Lord upon the face with a sword sore; that he lieth upon the same at his house of Ormeston.

" The advertisements of the taking of the same money came to the Governor, who sent his eldest son, the Mr. of Maxwell, the Prior of St. Andrew's and others, being seven hundred men or thereabout, to the Castle of Crichton, the Earl Bothwell's chief house, distant from Edinburgh eight miles, who entered into the same, and put garrison into it upon Allhallows-day, and lay that night there, and came to Edinburgh on the morrow.

" Upon Allhallows-day, after the riding forth of the said Governor, his son, and the others, the same was declared to the Queen by a servant of the Bishop of Dumblain, and immediately after the same declaration, about one thousand five hundred French and Scotsmen, issued out of Leith, and skirmished with about 11 c. (eleven hundred) Scotsmen that had laid two pieces of great ordnance upon a little hill beside Holyrood House, to shoot at Leith, and the Frenchmen won the one piece, and the other was bursted. And the same Frenchmen entered into Canongate, and spoiled the same to the port of the town, and slew twenty-one Scotsmen and three women, and six Frenchmen were slain at the same skirmish. And forty men of arms of France rode in at the Port, and went almost to the tron, where they were put back by the Governor and his party. The Castle of Edinburgh shot two canons at the French party at the said skirmish, for the which the Queen reproved the Lord Erskine, who made answer, that he would shoot at any person that went about to annoy the town of Edinburgh.

" The 3d of November present, the Governor sent his son and the Mr. of Maxwell with three hundred horsemen to Crighton Castle, who, at their arrival there, sent to the Earl Bothwell, being

at the Castle of Borthwick, and willed him to come and take part with the Lords, which he refused to do, and then the Governor's son spoiled the Castle of Crichton, and had the spoil, and all his evidents to the Governor.

"The 4th November aforesaid, the Queen sent to the Lords, and moved them to quietness, saying, she would keep all promises with them, if they would do the like, whereunto they would not agree, saying, they had found her so false and unnatural, that they would never trust her, nor have to do with her nor France, but by the sword.

"The 6th November instant, the Congregation and the French skirmished together, at which was slain Alexander Halyburton, brother to the tutor of Pitcur, one of the best Captains of Scotland, and thirty footmen of Scotland, and divers taken, and of the French six or seven slain and six taken. The Lords of Scotland perceiving that their skirmishes chanced not well with them, and that they were not in a perfect readiness for the wars; put all the ordnance in Edinburgh Castle upon band of the Lord Erskine, to have the same safely delivered to them again, and the said 6th of November about midnight removed to Lithgow, where they remained in consultation and preparing for the wars, and will set up a coin, saying they shall coyne a good part of their plate for maintenance of the word of God, and the wealth of Scotland.

"The morrow next after, being the 7th of Nov., the Queen removed to Edinburgh about ten of the clock before noon, where she remaineth, having all things there at her will; the most part of the inhabitants of Edinburgh fled out of the town with bag and baggage before her coming hither, and put a great part of their best stuff in Edinburgh Castle for the safety thereof.

The Bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow are with the Queen, and the Bishops of the Out Isles and Galloway with the Lords and Congregation.

XIV.

Treaty of Berwick.

At the time of the Treaty of Berwick, described in this volume pp. 183, 184, Cecil sent queries to the Scottish Lords, to which he required them to make definite answers.—The following paper preserved in the State Paper Office, contains these questions and

the replies.—It is endorsed in Cecil's hand, 20th Feb. 1559, and is in the hand-writing of Sir R. Sadler.

Certain Questions proponed to the Lords of Scotland, answered and resolved by them.

1. Whether they be able of themselves to resist the French power, and expel them out of Scotland.

Answer.—In respect of the fortresses which the French occupied in the time the Queen Dowager bare rule, and yet do possess, we are not able without the Queen's Majesty's support to expel them, seeing the whole body of the realm is not as yet united.

Question.—What aid then is required?

Answer.—They require England to join with Scotland in league to expel these their enemies, and promise on their part to unite with England at all times against her enemies, and refer the specialty of the aid to herself.

Question.—What power, horse and foot can they levy, and how soon?

Answer.—We would be able to bring five thousand men into the field, of which two thousand should watch and ward in company with the English soldiers according to the rate of their number, and with the other three thousand we shall keep the country in obedience, and make them be sure on all sides, night and day; that they shall need to attend upon nothing, saving the French within the fort, and we shall meet their army at Acheson's Haven, the 25th day of March next coming.

Question.—How long they be able to abide and continue in the field?

Answer.—The whole nobility and landed men, with their households, shall remain continually, so long as the Queen's Majesty's power shall remain, how long soever it be, and the remanent number the space of twenty days after the meeting and joining of both the armies, upon their own charges, and at the end of the said twenty days, shall have in readiness two thousand footmen, or thereby to receive wages of the Queen's Majesty, and continue so

[1] *Scots Corr.* 20th Feb. 1559.

long as need shall be, and three or four hundred light horsemen, if it be thought convenient in like manner to receive wages. And as to the number of the nobility, landed men, and their households, which shall remain after the said twenty days, it shall be declared unto you before the end of the said twenty days, that you may be assured what you shall trust to.

Question.—What ordnance for battery, and what munition can they bring?

Answer.—It is not unknown to you that all the artillery and munition of Scotland, is in the hands of the Queen, and the French, and (in) the strengths that are not in our hands.

Question.—What carriages can they furnish for the transport of great ordnance?

Answer.—The artillery and draught gear being brought to Acheson's Haven by sea, the lack of carriage horses supplied from thence to Leith.

Question.—What number of pioneers they can help us with?

Answer.—We believe assuredly, that on the Queen's Majesty's charges, we shall levy three or four hundred, or more if need be.

Question.—What necessaries they have for scaling and assaulting of forts?

Answer.—They have none in store, but whatsoever is in the country will be at their command; and there is wood and broom enough within four miles of Leith.

Question.—How they can furnish the army with victuals for horse and men?

Answer.—Plenty of oats for horses; as to forage, they cannot say much till they see how far the country is destroyed; as to men, Commissaries with a convenient sum of money should be sent into Scotland, to buy up victuals, of which there will be plenty. There is arrested in merchants' hands in Dundee, two hundred tuns of wine, which will be delivered into the Commissaries' hands for thirty-four pounds Scottish the tun, viz. eight pounds ten shillings sterling.

Question.—Where and when their power and ours shall join together?

Answer.—It shall be the greatest ease for us to meet you in some

part of Lothian where ye think good, but always we reserve that to your discretion.

Question.—Are they able to take and occupy Edinburgh? What as to the Lord Erskine?

Answer.—It is too great a hazard to attempt Edinburgh before the joining of the armies, because we doubt the French as desperate men will enterprise a battle. As to Lord Erskine, they will promise nothing assuredly, but hope he will be no enemy.

Question.—How the borderers in Scotland may be reduced to take part with the said Lords in this cause?

Answer.—They are labouring presently, and are in good hope to reduce the most part of them thereto, for the obstinate they will take order as you may advise.

Question.—What number of ships for the warre?

Answer.—No great number at their command, but there are some which will make forth against the French at their own adventure.

Question.—Where they shall be able to lodge in towns together, six hundred demi lances and six hundred light horsemen?

Answer.—They shall be placed in Edinburgh, if it may be had, failing thereof in towns thereabouts, the most commodious to be left to them in all sorts.

Question.—Where we may best land our artillery and munition?

Answer.—At Acheson's Haven, there is good hard ground from thence to Leith.

XV.

Letters of the Lord James, afterwards Regent Murray.[1]

The Lord James St. Andrew's, to Sir William Cecil.

"Right Honourable Sir,—After all loving commendation. Albeit I have in a general letter with my brethren presently written unto you, and as the present bearer, my good friend, may sufficiently instruct you of all things needful, yet have I thought neces-

[1] Preserved in St. P. Off.

sary to gratify in one part, your good mind at all times shown not only towards our common cause, but also in particular towards me, which, as it is in all sorts undeserved on my side, so am I the more affected unto you therefore, which, God willing, you shall apperceive, indeed, if ever the goodness of God shall grant the good opinion and expectation that causeless ye have conceived of me, shall come to good maturity and fruit—God of his mercy grant it may, and as I have found this your good mind unrequired, having found it, I am bold to desire you most earnestly to continue in the same, as well towards the weal of our common cause as of myself, as I persuade myself ye will, and to that effect, I have, my good friend, the young Laird of Lethington, bearer hereof, and his proceedings towards the premises, most heartily recommended unto your honor's wisdom and good council, whom God mot prosper to his glory.—At Sanct Andrew's, the 15th day of November, 1559.

"By your assured Friend,

"JAMES SANCTAND."

THE LORD JAMES TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

"Please your Grace, after my departing from Berwick, I safely arrived in Fife, and found my Lord of Arran in St. Andrew's ready to depart towards my Lord of Huntly, in St. Johnston, with whom I departed towards him, and after mutual conference, has found him to see throughout their present matters, and willing to show himself to the furtherance of the same at this present, which I suppose he testifies by his writings to the Queen's Majesty, and also to Mr. Cecil with his own servant, who is also instructed with credit, and if it shall please your Grace, in my opinion these writings should be kept in store for all adventures. Since my returning from my Lord of Huntly, which was the 1st of this instant, I have been continually travelling in the towns here upon the sea coast for preparation of victuals against the arrival of the commissaries, and also upon the preparation of our folks, assuring ourselves of meeting

[1] MS. Lettter, St. P. Off. endorsed by Cecil, Lord James, St. Andrew's, 15th Nov. 1559.

upon the day appointed. And in case any let come on your side, (as God forbid) it will please your Grace to make us an advertisement, because we look for none, and so commits your Grace to the protection of the Eternal. At Pittenweem, the 8th March, 1559.

"By your Grace to command,

"JAMES STEWART."

LORD JAMES TO SECRETARY CECIL.

"After most harty commendation; as travelling with my Lord Duke's Grace of Norfolk, and all times before, I have found the favour of God prospering his work in the hands of his servants, even so perceive I still and sensyne his blessing always to continue therewith. My Lord of Huntly, with a great part of the North, as I look for, will keep the affixed (time) betwixt my Lord Duke and us, whereof I trust you shall be certified by his own writing, which I would wish were kept in store. And further, I hope in God there shall be very few of the nobility that shall not join them at this time, and if God shall grant us good luck and success in this journey, I am persuaded the matter that all godly men so long have desired, and wise men travelled to bring to pass, shall be by the tender mercy of God most happily atchieved, to the great comfort of us, and the great felicity of the ages to come, and seeing it cometh near the birth, let no earnest labourer (as you are) faint in the Lord's work. Who mot prosper the same in your hands. From Pittenweem, the 8th of March, 1559.

"By your assured good Friend,

"JAMES STEWART."

XVI.

CHARACTER OF THE EARL OF HUNTLY.

History, pp. 186, 187.

This nobleman, perhaps the most powerful Baron in Scotland, has been somewhat undeservedly lauded. Like his brethren, he

was crafty, selfish, and ambitious. The following letter from his brother, the Bishop of Caithness, and the interesting paper which follows it, disclose his secret transactions with the Lords of the Congregation, and throw light on the severity with which he was afterwards treated by Mary.

LETTER FROM A. GORDON TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

"After hearty commendations to your Grace, it will please you to wit, that in consideration of the relation made by the Queen Dowager to divers of your Grace's countrymen, quha spak her in the Castle of Edinburgh, that my Lord my brother, the Earl of Huntly, would by no way assist or concur with us in defence of this our common and godly action, I will be so bold, with your Grace's pardon, to assure you of the contrary. Notwithstanding the great policy and craft used by the said Queen Dowager to empesche the same, who has done utter diligence to break the whole nobility of his country against him, which was the principal and chiefest occasion of his tarry. Who *beis* unfailand in our camp, the 20th or 21st of this present April, to assist and set forward these our proceedings and godly union, at the uttermost of his power.[1]

"18th April, 1560, Edinburgh."

The second paper to which I allude is endorsed by Randall, THE REQUESTS OF THE EARL of HUNTLY TO THE LORDS, and dated in Cecil's handwriting, part of which is torn away,—18th April, 1560.

"Forsomuch as by the labour, persuasions, and suborning of the French part, and others, their favorers, and part takers within this realm, there is a con (tract) and league maid by their means among a great number of the nobles of the north parts of this realm, certain clans, and Islemen of the same, that they shall maintain, and with their power extreme, defend the auld manner of religion, and French authority within this realm. Nothingless to the resistance of my Lord Duke's Grace, and others, his part-takers, nor for invading of me, my friends, and part takers, and

[1] Endorsed by Cecil, Bishop of Athens, to the Duke of Norfolk.

destroying of our *rowmes* that shall assist with his Grace, of the which they have begun one part already. Wherefore the said Earl of Huntly, since he adventures his body, life, rents, and lands, with his whole friends that will do for him, desires that my Lord Duke and others, the noblemen assisters to his Grace's proceedings, make him, his friends and partakers, an assured promise under their hand writs to their maintenance in their lifes, rents, lands, and possessions. And that by his Grace and them, the said Earl and his assisters might have the Queen's Majesty of England's aid and support when he shall (require) the same, as well for to defend their incursions and pursuits, as to pursue them and their rowmes, that will not concur with him to the Duke's Grace's effect, and the maintaining the liberty of this realm, and common weal thereof, so far as we are within the north parts of the mount.

"Item.—Desires in like manner that where he understands the Duke's Grace with his Council, is already disponing to sundry men, certain rowmes in these north parts, and to them in special, which shall be found of the said confederacy. That in that respect, his Grace, nor his Council and partakers, shall dispone nothing of the lands and duties of the Kirk Escheats, and casualties of thir parts, but to such as shall be his concurrents, and join themselves with him to the forthsetting of the action of the commonweal, or at the least, without his (Lordship's) consent and advice, and that within the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Murray, Nairn, and Inverness.

"Item.—Because it is not unknown his Lordship, and his predecessors to have been under his Sovereign, the man to have had the supreme authority in the north in time by past, and power given to them by their Sovereigns for the time, desires to have suchlike power and authority as before times, with assistance and maintenance of his Grace and his assisters both of Scotland and England, so that not only shall any of his own pretend to disobey or ly aback in this action, but by the said power, assistance, and authority, he may inbring them with the rest of their adherents, so that the liberty and commonweal of this poor realm, might be more easily preserved, and he and his partakers may thro' such authority and help, the more hartily concur and wear their lives, and hasard their heritages in the said action; and who shall be required by

the Duke and the Lords, his Grace's assisters, to concur in the forth setting of the said action, and refuses the same, and the rest at his Grace's command, shall be pursued by the said Earl of Huntly in that case; their escheats and *rowmes* to be disponed to him and such other gentlemen and Barons that serves with him."

The Lords' Answer to the Earl of Huntly.[1]

To the 1st. The answer made is, "That by the band entered into by the Congregation, they are bound mutually to defend each other, and if Huntly joins them, he will participate in this obligation and enjoy the benefit."

To the 2nd. "Huntly has seen the copy of the Contract between them and the Queen's Majesty, by which she obliges herself to support and defend them, and if Huntly joins them, he will be included in the benefit of this Contract as one of themselves."

Where in the second article it is alleged that the said Earl understands they are already disponing certain rowmes to sundry men in the north parts * * it is answered "that the Lords have made no disposition of any thing to any persons, but only constitute factours, * * * * * * and no factours made of any rowmes in these parts—and his Lordship coming and adjoining him to the said Lords, no disposition of factorie shall be made by (contrary to) his advice."

To the 3rd. That he have the same authority as his predecessors have had before him in the north parts, it is answered—"That the Lords as yet have never taken upon them the disposition *of escheats or office if lieutenandrie, fearing if they would pretend any such matter, it would be sinisterly interpreted, and the adversaries would calumniate them as usurpers of our Sovereign's authority.* Nevertheless, perceiving my Lord of Huntly's good affection to haste a moyen, whereby all men may be adjoined to this cause, they are content to grant to my Lord at his coming hither to them, all and whatsoever things may so further the cause that he himself will think that they may do, remaining obedient subjects, and reserving their obedience to their Sovereign—and for that they may see, he

[1] Scots Corr., dated in Cecil's hand, 18th April, 1560.

requires this only for furtherance of the common cause, and not for any commodity, they will in this article follow his good advice and counsell after his coming. At which time, in this as in all others, he shall be satisfied."

XVII.

An Irish Ambassador in 1560.

The following extract from a letter, addressed by Randolph to Cecil, is amusing, in the vivid portrait it gives us of O'Neil's Ambassador—and in showing also that the Irish language was written and understood by the inhabitants of the North of Scotland, as late at least as August 25, 1560, the date of this letter. It is preserved in the State Paper Office.

"May it please you to understand, that the 16th of this present, there came to the Earl of Argile, out of Ireland, an Ambassador from O'Neil. What was his message, and effect of his embassy, your Honour may perceive by these letters which the Earl of Argile hath sent, beside also some other matter that he requireth to be advertised of from your Honour as you see time. The letter that he received from O'Neill, he caused to be translated into English, and hath, notwithstanding, sent you the original, ad faciendam majorem fidem, and also for you to see the strangeness of their orthography. This he desireth to be sent unto him again.

"The manner and behaviour of him from whom the letter came, is not so strange as it was wonderful to see the presence of his Ambassador. A man that exceedeth many in stature. He walked a foot out of Erland hither alone, his diet, by reason of the length of his journey, so failed him, that he was fain to leave his safron shirt in gage. The rest of his apparel such, that the Earl before he would give him audience, arrayed him new from the neck downwards; for razor he would none—his lodging was in the chimney, his drink chiefly aquavitæ and milk. Tho' the message that he came of was such as the Earl of Argile by no means will consent unto for divers respects, as chiefly the ungodliness of the person, and the worthiness of his sister, of whom I hear great commendation, yet

will he not utterly shake him off, or give him any resolute answer, but intendeth awhile to entertain him, to see what good may be done upon him, either to bring him to God, or more civility."

XVIII.

Mary's aversion to Knox.

The following extract from a letter of Throckmorton's to Queen Elizabeth, dated 13th July, 1561, Paris, and preserved in the French Correspondence of the State Paper Office, evinces the strong aversion which the young Queen of Scots had conceived against this reformer, previous to her arrival in her dominions.

"The said Queen's (Scotland) determination to go home continues still; she goeth shortly from the Court to Fescamp, in Normandy, there to make her mother's funerals and burial, and from thence to Calais, there to embark. * * The late unquietness in Scotland hath disquieted her very much, and yet stayeth not her journey. The 5th of this present, the Earl of Bothwell arrived here in post. * * I understand that the Queen of Scotland, is thoroughly persuaded that the most dangerous man in all her realm of Scotland, both to her entent there, and the dissolving of the league between your Maj: and that realm is Knokes. And therefore is fully determined to use all the means she can devise, to banish him thence, or else to assure them that she will never dwell in that country as long as he is there, and to make him the more odious to your Maj: and that at your hands he receive neither courage nor comfort; she mindeth to send very shortly to your Maj: (if she have not already done it) to lay before you the book that he hath written against the Government of women, (which your Maj: hath seen already) thinking thereby to animate your Maj: against him, but whatsoever the said Queen shall insinuate your Maj: of him, I take him to be as much for your Maj: purpose, and that he hath done, and doth daily, as good service for the advancement of your Maj: desire in that country, and to establish a mutual benevolence, and common quiet between the two

realms, as any man of that nation, his doings wherein, together with his zeal well known, have sufficiently recompensed his faults in writing that book, and therefore (he) is not to be driven out of that realm."

XIX.

Mary and Lethington.

It has been stated in this volume, p. *243*, that previous to her setting out from France, Mary addressed letters of forgiveness and kindness, to nearly all her subjects who filled offices of trust. The following letter she sent to Secretary Lethington, it is printed from a copy endorsed by Cecil, "Queen of Scots letter to the L. of Lethington, 29th June, 1561, preserved in the State Paper Office."

"Lethington. Jay receu vostre lettre du X^me^ de ce moys. Et vous employant en mon service et faisant bien suynant la bonne volunté q m'asseurez en avoir; il ne fault point que vous craignez les calomniateurs ny rapporteurs, car ils n'auront jamais bonne part auprès de moy. Je prend garde aux effects devant q'adjouster foy en tout à ce que l'on me dit. Et quant au scrupule que pourroit proceder de l'accointance qu'avez en Angleterre il cessera avec l'intelligence que vous y pouvez avoir. A quoy il vous est ayse remedier si vous voulez. Et pour ce vous avez este l'instrument, et principal negociateur de toutes les practiques que ma noblesse a eu en Angleterre, si vous desirez que oultre ce que J'ay déjà oublyé toutes offences passées comme Je vous ay escript cy devant, Je me fye à bon (effient) et me serve de vous, faictes que les ostages qui sont au dict pays en soyent retirez, et vous employez à dissouldre ce que vous avez moyenne et solicite en c'est endroict, avec tel effect, Je me puisse asseurer de vostre bonne affection. Vous avez l'entendement et dextérité de faire plus que cela, et ne se passe rien entre ma noblesse dont vous n'ayez cognoissance, et que vostre advice n'y soit receu. *Aussi Je ne veulx vous celer, que s'il se faict quelque chose qui n'aille droit par cy apres me fiant de vous* vous estez celluy à qui je m'en prendray le premier. Je veulx vivre doresnavant en toute amytie et bonne voisinance avec la Royne d'angleterre, et suis sur mon partement pour passer

en mon Royaume où j'espere estre danz le tems que J'ay mande par le prieur de St. Andrè—A mon arrivée par dela jauray bosoing trouver quelques deniers pour subvenir à ma maison, et autres necessitez. Il en est sort y depuis ung an une bonne somme du proffict de ma monnoye e y a aussi dautres casualitez. Vous me ferez plaisir de tener la main que de coste ou dautre J'en puisse trouver de prestz pour men ayder promptement. Et cependant vous me scrivez et donnerez advis de tout. Jay veu par vostre lettre comme vous avez faict publier et executer celles que n'aguieres je vous avez envoyées touchant les alienations des terres ecclesiastiques—Et quant à la declaration de mon intention plus avant, estant sur mon dict parlement Je lay remyse apres mon arrivée. Je feray bien ayse de voir et intendre comme les choses sont passés en cest endroict tant auparavant les troubles que depuis le commencement d'iceulx, priant Dieu, Lethington vous avoir en sa saincte garde. Escript à Paris, le xxix^me^ Jour de Jung, 1561.

XX.

Elizabeth's violent refusal of a Passport to Mary.

It appears from the following letter of Lethington to Cecil, dated at Edinburgh, 15th August, 1561, that the English Queen had so far suffered herself to be overcome by passion, as openly to declare to D'Oysell that she would not suffer his mistress to come into her own dominions.

"Sir,—Hither came yesternight from France a Scottish gentleman called Capt. Anstruther, sent by the Queen, our Sovereign, who left her Maj: (as he saith) at Morin, six leagues from the Court at St. Germain's, where she had left the King, and was coming towards Calais there to embarque. He hath letters to the most part of the noblemen, whereby she doth complain that the Queen's Majesty not only hath refused passage to Monsieur Doysell and the safe conduct which she did courteously require for herself, but also doth make open declaration that she will not suffer her to come home to her own realm, yet is her affection such towards her country, and so great desire she hath to see us, that

she meaneth not for that threatening to stay, but taketh her journey with two galleys only without any forces, accompanyed with her three uncles, the Duke D'Aumall, the Marquis d'Elboef, and the Great Prior, one of the constable's sons, Monsieur Damville, and their trains, and so trust her person in our hands. In the meantime thinking that the Queen's Maj: will by some means practique the subjects of this realm, she hath written to divers, and specially those whom she knoweth most affectioned, to continue the intelligence, willing them in anywise that they receive no Ambassador from her Majesty, nor renew any league with her Highness unto such time as she be present with us, the bearer sayth that she will arrive before the 26th day of this instant. What this message meaneth I cannot judge, I marvel that she will utter any thing to us, which she would have kept close for you, and if two galleys may quietly pass, I wish the passport had been liberally granted. To what purpose should you open your pack and sell none of your wares, or declare you enemies to those whom you cannot offend. It passeth my dull capacity to imagine what this sudden enterprise should mean. We have determined to trust no more than we shall see, yet can I not but fear the issue for lack of charges and sufficient power. If any thing chance amiss, we shall feel the first dint, but I am sure you see the consequence. It shall be well done that the Q. Maj: keep some ordinary power at Berwick, of good force, so long as we stand in doubtful terms, as well for safety of the peace as our comfort. The neighbourhood of your men will discourage our enemies and make us the bolder. My wit is not sufficient to give advice in so dangerous a cast, but I mean well. God maintain his cause, and those that mean uprightly. I pray you send me your advice what is best to be done, as well in the common cause, as in my particular, who am taken to be a chief meddler and principal negociator of all the practiques with that Realm, tho' I be not in greatest place, yet is not my danger least, specially when she shall come home, having so late received at the Q. Maj: hands (as she will think) so great a discourtesy. This Capt. Anstruther hath also a commission to receive from the French Captains the Castle of Dunbar, and the Fort of Inchkeith, and to send home all the soldiers. I have heard that the Queen meaneth to draw home the Earl of Lennox, furth

of England, and to make him an instrument of division in this Realm, setting him up against the Duke of Chastelherault. I trust the Queen's Maj: will have good regard thereto, In anywise let me hear I pray you, often from you. If I may receive every four or five days a line or two from you, it shall be my greatest comfort—and because I must now be jealous of my letters, I pray you make some mention in your's of the receipt of so many as I have sent you this month. (this is the third), * * Edinburgh, the 15th day of August, 1561.

"Your's at commandment,

"W. MAITLAND."

XXI.

LETHINGTON AND CECIL.

As an example of Lethington's lighter epistolary style, the Reader may be interested in the following letter, written to Cecil when the Scottish Secretary was in love with Mary Fleming, one of the Queen's Marys, whom he afterwards married. It is amusing to find that he had chosen so grave a confidant as Cecil. There is preserved in the British Museum, a pathetic letter of this Mary Fleming, written to Lord Burleigh, intreating him to use his influence with Morton, that the body of Lethington, her husband, might suffer no shame. It has been printed by Chalmers, from the original in the Cotton collection—Life of Mary, vol. ii. p. 502.

Ledington to Cecil.[1]

Sir—I have of late been somewhat perplexed, understanding that you were sick, the rather that I could not have certain knowledge whether it was the cough which universally did reign, or other more dangerous disease, which did trouble you. I am glad to hear by the report of such as come from hence that you have recovered your health, and yet will not be fully assured thereof, until such time as I shall see the same testified by some letter, written with your own hand. I am not *tam cupidus rerum novarum*, that I desire any change, and if my fortune should be at any time to come

[1] MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Edin., 28th Feb., 1564-5.

in that realm, I wish not to have occasion to make any new acquaintance. I confess I have found in you some lacks, and points which I have wished to be reformed, and shall still find so long as you do not fully satisfy my affections (such is the nature of man and phylantye (φιλαυτια) which maketh us fancy too much our own conceptions.) Yet, I do not look for any full reformation of you in that behalf, and not the less when I do indifferently and without passion behold your proceedings, and even such as I appear most to mislike, I am constrained to think, that if any other occupied the same place, I might, perhaps, have matter ministered unto me of more misliking. Therefore, how far soever I mislike you, I wish you to do well to yourself, and suffer neither the evil weather, nor evil world kill you. As there are in you many good parts, which I require in myself, so I find in me one great virtue, whereof for your commodity I wish you a portion, to wit, the common affairs do never so much trouble me, but that at least I have one merry hour of the four and twenty, and you labour continually without intermission, nothing considering that the body, yea, and the mind also, must sometime have recreation, or else they cannot long last. Such physic as I do minister unto myself, I appoint for you. Marry, you may, perhaps, reply, that as now the world doth go with me, my body is better disposed to digest such than yours is, (for those that be in love, are ever set upon a merry pin) yet I take this to be a most singular remedy for all diseases in all persons. You see how I abuse my leisure, and do trouble your occupations with matters of so light moment. It is not for lack of a more grave subject, but that I purposely forbear it, not knowing in what sort, I may touch it, and avoid offence. I will, with better devotion, look for other matter in your next letter, than for any answer to this foolish letter of mine, and yet, rather to be advertised of your convalescence. You can impart those news to none that will be more glad of them. Like as if you will command any thing that lieth in my power conveniently to do, you will find none next your son, over whom you have more authority. And so, after my most hearty commendations, I take my leave.—From Edinburgh, the last of February, 1564,

Yours, at command,

W. MAITLAND.

XXII.

Characteristic Letter of Knox.

The following letter of this Reformer (alluded to in this volume, p. 343) is addressed to Randolph, and dated at Edinburg 3d ——— 1564. Some few words are unreadable, but as a whole, it is very characteristic.

"Both your's are come to my hands, with your for the which I heartily thank you. Rollets tidings are as yet buried in breasts of two within this realm, but (Maddye) telleth us many news. The mess shall up; the Bishop of Glasgow and Abbot of Dumfermling come as Ambassadors from the general council. My Lord Bothwell shall follow with power to put in execution whasoever is demanded, and our Sovereign will have done, and then shall Knox and his preaching be pulled by the ears. Thus, with us raves Maddye every day, but hereupon I greatly pause not. The Earl of Lennox servant is familiarly in court; and it is supposed that it is not without knowledge yea and labour of yuor court. Some in this country look for the Lady and the young Earl, or it be long; it is whispered to me that license is already procured for their hithercoming. God's providence is inscrutable to man, before the issue of such things as are kept close for a season in his council, *but to be plain with you that journey and progress I like not.* The Q. Maj: remains at St. Johnston, as I hear yet eight days, yea, and perchance longer, as for Edinburgh, it likes the ladies nothing. In these last ships from France and Flanders, I have received some news, and some are coming; certain of the salt maker's labourers are arrived with mattocks, schooles, and certain other instruments; more are looked for, I fear their traffic shall be to make salt upon salt. Divine what I mean? I hear of credible report, and that of such as are privy in the court of France, that the journey of Loraine goes forward, Letters I received dated in * * * in Champagne, assuring that the King was so far in journey, if other impediments occurred not. The Papists of France (of Paris especially) threaten destruction to all Protestants. The Germans almost in every city and province are (agg. sec) men of war, and no man can tell at whose devotion. If ye know I

am content, if not, my councelis, you look to it. Two barges, in form and fashion like hoys, came in our Firth, abone (above) the Inch, and viewed all places, Sunday and Monday last. They sailed from land to land, round about the Inch, but would suffer no man to enter in them; and so are departed. Our Solan geese use to vesey (inspect) the bass, before the great company tak possession. I say yet again, take heed; I hear (but not of certainty) that Sweden will yet visit us with an Ambassador. I pray you yet again salute my Lord of Bedford, of whose good mind towards me I never doubted, and say to his Lordship, that I think I shall have as great need of comfort ere it be long, as that I had when his L. and I last parted in London, if God put not end to my battle shortly. For here, wanton and wicked will empires, as it were, above wisdom and virtue. God send remedy, and thus ye know a part of my mind, and yet, if I were not I would trouble you longer. My purpose is, if God permit, to be in Langton the 3 Sunday of May. You may appoint the place, and I will meet you. Whom the Eternal preserve. Of Edinburgh, the 3d of this present (or instant) 1564.

"Salute in my name Mr. —— and the Italian, to whom great business suffers me not to write.

Your's, to his power,
JOHN KNOX.

END OF VOLUME VI.

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JUN 15 1949.